Anne Horne

W. R. WOODCOCK WARWICK LANE LONDON.

Henric Fitz Alwine Kt.

FIRST LORD MAYOR OF LONDON.

Woodcock, W
II

WOODCOCK'S

Lives

OF

Illustrious Lords Mayors

AND

Aldermen of London.

WITH

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CITY OF

London.

Also a Chronological List of the Lords Mayors & Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, from the earliest period to the present time.

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PREFACE.

The biography of the most illustrious and distinguished of the chief magistrates of the ancient and renowned City of London, must possess the greatest interest, not only to its own citizens, but to the subjects generally, of the vast and extended British Empire, of which it is the capital, as well as to their descendants in the colonies, and also to the citizens of the United States of America.

The Lords Mayors of London are the property of History, and are closely connected with the ancient chivalry of the Sovereigns of England, as well as with the gallant exploits of her most renowned warriors, and of her ablest diplomacy; for, in former times, the ambassadors to foreign courts have been selected from among the Lords Mayors of London. Sir William Walworth, to whose biography we refer our readers, is associated in our memories with the rebellion of Wat Tyler, and stimulates us to courage and loyalty in defence of the just rights of the Crown. Sir Richard Whittington brings back the careworn mind of age to the innocence and playfulness of infancy, when his "most puissant catte" supplied food for mirth, and his own adventures impressed the value of industry, morality, and integrity, on our minds. Sirs John Crosby and Edmund Shaw remind us of the usurpation of the crown by the house

of Lancaster, and of the wars of the Roses, which desolated England for more than a century, until "the winter of our discontent was made glorious summer by the sun of York." The name of Gresham is associated with the Royal Exchange, which Sir Richard projected, and his son, Sir Thomas, founded and built. With the name of Sir Thomas Gresham, who founded Gresham College, is inseparably connected the blessings of extended education in the sciences of Divinity, Astronomy, Music, Geometry, Law, Medicine, and Rhetoric.

Other illustrious names amongst the civic functionaries remind us of the numerous stirring events in our domestic history; such as the reformation of religion from the superstitious and cruel persecutions of former times; the grand rebellion, with the restoration of the church and monarchy; the Fire and Plague of London, with the consequent loss of life and property; the Revolution, in which the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of that day took so conspicuous a part; and the many wonderful events which have rendered the history of our country so renowned, both in arts and arms, and in the extension of commerce and manufactures. The biography of men associated with all these circumstances and events, must be interesting to all sorts of readers, and convey much real as well as entertaining information to their minds. We trust, then, that our exertions will not fail to be appreciated.

INTRODUCTION.

THE HISTORY OF LONDON.

It has been deemed advisable to preface the present volume of the "Lives of Eminent Lords Mayors of the City of London," with a brief sketch of the history of the city itself. The advantages arising from the introduction of such a chapter in the present work, will be sufficiently obvious, if one or two instances alone are stated. It must be evident that the life of any great public man can only be properly understood by a corresponding knowledge of the history of the age in which he lived, and of the circumstances which called him, perhaps, from the humble obscurity of a private and even menial life,

"To read his history in a nation's eyes."

To enter into such a review of the exigences of a nation at these crises, would interrupt, but too often, the thread of the narrative which belongs to individual character, and the preservation of which, if we would arrive at the unity of the man's character, must be held as pertinaciously as the mystic cord

which led to the bower of "Fair Rosamond." By the adoption of the present chapter, these frequent deviations from the biographical narrative will be avoided; and whilst a clue is afforded to the general tenor of national history, the compact thread of individual history will remain inviolate. It is not pretended in the present sketch to attempt anything like a history at large of England or of the city of London itself, but to pass in rapid review over the series of leading events in the history of the city, and to furnish a narrative that will throw some light upon the actions of the eminent men whose lives are chronicled in the subsequent pages of this work.

The foundation of the cities of remote ages, unless attended with some peculiar historical incident, is a matter of dubious investigation, even in relation to civilized countries; but in relation to countries in a state of semi-barbarism, like our own, at the time of the Roman invasion, the difficulties assume a far more serious character. A tribe of half savage men, settling down in the valley of the Thames, at a particular spot, to avail themselves of the advantages of the stream, whether as furnishing the means of existence or defence, can hardly be expected to constitute an event, the date of which can be easily defined in history. Such difficulties attach to the establishment of the city of London; and the remote age at which its foundation took place, has given rise, in later ages, to endless disputes as to the time of, and circumstances that attended that foundation.

Geoffrey of Monmouth, ascribed its origin to Brutus, a descendant of Eneas, of mythological celebrity; and crude as this theory was, we find it pleaded by the mayor and aldermen of the city itself, before King Henry VI., in order to establish for the city a precedence, in point of antiquity, even over ancient Rome itself. The first mention, however, of the existence of the ancient Londinium, occurs in Tacitus, who tells us that the Roman General, Suetonius Paulinus, who was then engaged in the conquest of the Isle of Anglesea, having received intimation of the revolt of the Britons, under Boadicea, Queen of the Iceni, marched to London, which had, even then (A.D. 64) attained some celebrity as a mercantile town. The probability in fact is, that a village existed at the time of the conquest, by Julius Cæsar, but it is highly improbable that it had attained any degree of importance at that age. Nor was it till long after, that London assumed the character of a fortified town; for we find it abandoned by Suetonius on his return from Wales, as untenable for a place of defence. The city, abandoned to the ravages of the Britons, was pillaged and burnt, and the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, destroyed. It may be necessary to remark, in order to account for this; that the greater number of its inhabitants were, in all probability, Romans, and consisted of merchants and adventurers, who had left Rome to establish themselves here. Numbers of mercenary Britons were doubtless established here, and the fact

alone of their living under the protection of the Romans would be sufficient to arouse the wrathful anger of their more patriotic countrymen, who would regard their allegiance to the invader as an act of the foulest treachery. It was not until the period varying from the latter end of the third to the beginning of the fifth centuries (for historians have not been able satisfactorily to settle the exact period), that the great work of fortifying London, by surrounding it by a wall, was attempted by the Romans; and, in the mean time, the inhabitants, who subsequently again settled at this place, were exposed to the attacks of every marauding force. The general opinion is, that the wall of the city was begun in the reign of Valentinian I., at which time the contests between the wild inhabitants and the Romans were carried on with unparalleled vigour. Theodosius, the elder, however, at this juncture, arrived in Britain with a strong force; and having defeated the allied forces of the Saxons, Scots, Picts, and other tribes, entered London in triumph, to the great joy of the unprotected inhabitants. The ancient Roman wall is considered to have encompassed the city on all sides, and to have had four principal entrances, or gates; namely, Aldgate, Cripplegate, Newgate, and Dowgate; which permitted the communication of the inhabitants with the surrounding country, and, at the same time, could be closed against the entrance of any hostile force. According to the description of Dr. Wood-

ward and others, the wall was built in the most substantial manner, and was about twenty-two feet in height, surmounted with towers about forty feet high. This wall constituted an effectual defence against the further invasion of the hostile nations, until the Roman generals, alarmed at the danger impending over their own remote empire, broke up their establishment in Britain, which then ceased to be a Roman colony. The various names which were successively applied to it by its Roman and Saxon conquerors, were those of Londinium, Lundonia, Londine, Londres, Augusta, London, Lunden, Ceaster, Lunden, Wye, Lundenne, Lunden Bergh, and Lunden Burg. The Saxons, on their arrival in England, found its name Caer Llundain. Hengist, the Saxon chief, having eight years after his arrival defeated the Britons at Creceanford (the modern Crayford), the latter fled in great confusion to the city, followed by the victorious Saxons, whose dynasty was soon firmly established throughout the entire kingdom. About the year 597, the celebrated Augustine,* who introduced Christianity among the Anglo-Saxons, and who became archbishop of the English nation, ordained Mellitus

* It should always be borne in mind that Augustine preached to the Pagan Saxons, and not to the early British Christians, as recorded by some historians, and who drove the ancient British Christians into Wales, where 2000 of them, who refused to bow to the assumed supremacy of the bishop of Rome, were slaughtered, in the year 603, at his (Augustine's) instigation.

bishop of the East Saxons; and a church having been erected for the bishop, by Ethelbert, king of Kent, the city became, for the first time, the see of a bishop. The death of Sebert, the first Christian king of Essex, however, threw the nation into confusion; for his sons who, during the lifetime of their father, had professed their adherence to Christianity, at his death publicly renounced that faith, and, amongst other acts, expelled Mellitus from his diocese. The conversion of Eadbald, king of Kent, caused the recal of the good bishop; but the inhabitants of London, who preferred to continue Pagans, refused to receive him. In 764, and again in 801, the city suffered fearfully from the ravages of fire, which caused a dreadful sacrifice of both life and property. In the year 833, London first had the honour, which, in modern ages, it has exclusively enjoyed, of being the spot chosen for the meeting of Parliament. Egbert, king of the West Saxons, his son Ethelwolf, and Withlaf, king of Mercia, with the bishops and great men of the land, assembled to consider on the best means of meeting the Danes, whose piracies had been characterized by a boldness and cruelty hitherto unprecedented. Their deliberations and consequent efforts appear to have been of little avail; for in the year 839, scarcely six years afterwards, these warlike marauders landed in Kent, and after destroying both Canterbury and Rochester, proceeded to London, and having conquered the city, mercilessly slaughtered its inhabitants.

Their success in these buccaneering exploits emboldened them to essay the conquest of the whole island, an event which they attempted in the year 851, when, mustering a fleet of three hundred and fifty ships, they sailed up the Thames, reduced London, and established a body of troops there, to the great annoyance of the surrounding country. The Danes, however, enjoyed their newly-acquired power but a short time; for that man who, above all other men, must be considered the wisest and best king that England ever possessed, was even then devising his plans for the deliverance of his country. Having defeated the Danes in several encounters, Alfred hastened to lay siege to London, and carried on the assault with such vigour, that the Danes were compelled to capitulate. Alfred restored the city, which had been partially destroyed by the Danes, repaired the wall, and, having thus newly-created it, as a powerful city, entrusted its government to the hands of his son-in-law, Ethelred, whom he created Earl of Mercia. At his death, his widow, Ethelfleda, delivered up formally the government of the city to her brother Edward. This Ethelred distinguished himself in 894, in an attack upon the Danes, who had landed on the Essex coast, near Canvey Island, and erected a very strong castle there. Accompanied by a select body of the citizens, Ethelred marched into Essex, defeated the Danes, destroyed their castle, and brought the wife and sons of Hasten, the Danish

chief, in triumph to London. In the following year, 895, another detachment of the Danish forces, which had established themselves on Mersey Island, at the mouth of the river Colne, there to await the success of their comrades, sailed up the Thames, and afterwards up the river Lea (the ancient Ligan), and established themselves in a strong camp near Hertford. The citizens, alarmed at the danger which threatened London, accompanied Alfred in his attempt to dislodge the marauders. Their first attack, however, was unsuccessful, and they were repulsed with considerable loss. The wisdom of Alfred, however, saved them. Finding it would be dangerous to renew the attack, he disposed of his army, so as to cut off all communication of the Danes with the surrounding country, and then proceeded to divert the water of the Ligan, leaving the Danish ships "high and dry." Cut off from all means of escape, in the event of a defeat, the Danes prudently gave up the contest, and retreated without their vessels. The citizens restored the navigation of the river, and brought the most useful ships to London. Under the auspicious influence of a prolonged peace, London appears, in this and the succeeding reign, to have increased in commercial greatness; and by a law passed in the reign of Athelstan, for regulating the currency of the kingdom, eight coiners were allowed to London; Canterbury being the only city that was privileged with a similar number. In the year 945, a Par-

liament (or Wittenagemote) was held in London, and, in 961, a fever broke out in the city, which destroyed a large portion of its inhabitants. The city was surrounded by marshes, and the miasma, generated in these spots, caused diseases which raged with fearful effect in a city, the buildings of which were arranged in the very worst possible manner, with reference to ventilation and cleanliness. In the same year, St. Paul's Cathedral was destroyed by fire; a few years afterwards a similar calamity destroyed nearly the whole of the houses in the city. By the returns in Doom's-day Book, London appears now to have attained the position of the largest city in the kingdom. In the year 992, the predatory visits of the Danes again commenced, and were defeated in that and following years by the bravery of the citizens. The other towns and cities were, however, unable to cope with the fiery foe, and the Danes were thus in possession of all the strong-holds of the kingdom, except Canterbury and London. Pent up in this latter city, Ethelred, in his emergency, called a national council, which met in London; at which, it was resolved to purchase the departure of the Danish forces, at a sum, stated by historians, of £8,000 or £48,000 (most probably the latter amount). The peace, thus dearly purchased, was of short duration; for Ethelred, by an act of barbarous cruelty, drew down upon himself the wrath of the Danish king, Swegen. A number of Danes being

settled in the country, a general massacre of them was ordered, without distinction of age and sex; and amongst those who perished, was Gunhild, the sister of Swegen, or Sweyne, with her husband Palingus, who had become hostages for the observance of the treaty. This act incensed the Danish monarch, who, the next year, 1013, entered the Humber with a powerful fleet; and after subduing the Saxons, who made but a feeble resistance, conquered the whole country, with the exception of the city of London. Ethelred fled to Normandy; the citizens, deserted by the king, submitted quietly to Sweyne, who was proclaimed King of England in the city. Sweyne lived but a few months in his new authority; he died in the spring of 1014, and Ethelred was immediately recalled to enjoy the sovereignty, which, however, he only possessed for a short time. The citizens, on hearing of his death, immediately proclaimed Edmund Ironside, his son, as his successor; and, by the consent of the nobility, he was crowned in the city of London. The clergy, however, were in favour of Canute, the son of the late Danish king, whom they proclaimed as king at Southampton. Canute, apprized of the feeling of the clergy, fitted out a powerful fleet, and entered the Thames, with the intention of capturing London, the strong-hold of the Saxon monarch. When he arrived off the city, he found his further progress arrested by the bridge, which had been previously erected across the Thames, and

which now bristled with the spears of an armed force, sufficiently powerful to resist the further progress of his fleet. In this emergency he had recourse to an enterprize, which, considering the age in which it was attempted, is certainly one of the most remarkable instances of perseverance and military skill on record; namely, that of cutting a canal through the land on the northern side of the river, from Rotherhithe to Chelsea, and thus to bring round his fleet so as to invest the city. The nature of the country, which consisted, in that direction, of a low marsh, favoured the work, which still required the application of immense labour, and no trifling exercise of skill. The canal commenced below Rotherhithe, and crossed the marshes to Lambeth, thence through Vauxhall, and finally entered the Thames at the lower end of Chelsea Reach. This great work being completed, Canute brought his fleet round to the west side of London Bridge, and then commenced an attack on the city. The valour of the citizens, however, kept him at bay, till a peace was concluded between Canute and Edmund Ironside, which resulted in a division of the kingdom; Mercia, including London, falling to Canute's share. Canute shortly afterwards, on the death of Ironside, succeeded to the whole kingdom; and we have a striking proof at this time of the wealth and power of London, that of a tax of £83,000, exacted by Canute in one year, for the support of his Danish fleet and mercenaries: £11,000

was raised in London alone. The city had, in fact, become the great golden reservoir, which has ever since been resorted to by kings, either for their crimes and follies, or their virtues. On the death of Canute, the city sent members to the Wittenagemote, or Parliament, assembled at Oxford, where Harold was chosen to the regal power; and, in all these great matters of state, the nobility appear to have consulted the representatives of the city. In 1052, the fleet of Earl Godwin, who had taken up arms against Edward the Confessor, passed up to London (where it met with no opposition), and through the arches of the bridge, with the intention of destroying the royal fleet. The differences of the earl and his sovereign were, however, accommodated by the interposition of some of the principal nobles.

The battle of Hastings having resulted in the defeat and death of Harold, the earls of Northumberland and Mercia arrived in London from the fatal battle plain, and proposed, to the leading citizens, the proclamation of Edgar Atheling as king of England. There was some opposition to this proposal; many of the citizens deeming discretion to be the better part of valour, and wishing at once to deliver up the city to the Norman despot. The spirit of patriotism, however, held way, and the city declared in favour of Edgar. William the Conqueror hearing of the state of indecision that prevailed in the city, arrived in London, by forced marches, to prevent the declaration of the patriots. The citizen army met

him at Southwark; and though repulsed by the Norman cavalry with some loss, yet were they so well prepared for a struggle, that the Conqueror declined laying siege to the city in the winter; and, having burnt the suburb of Southwark, marched to reduce the towns in the west of England. How far the resistance might have been successful, and the country have been spared the brutalizing yoke of the Normans, from whose feudal institutions we have not even yet freed ourselves, had the city stood firm to its first purpose, it is idle to conjecture. The clergy, whose avarice led them to hope for more power under the Norman dynasty than the popular institutions of the Saxons allowed them to assume, laboured hard to sow divisions in the cause of the patriots, a work in which they succeeded but too well; for, shortly afterwards, the city declared in favour of the Conqueror, and the patriotic brothers, the earls of Northumberland and Mercia, retired to the north of England for safety. The bishops immediately repaired to Berkhampstead, and swore allegiance to William, prevailing upon the nobility, and even upon Edgar Atheling, to submit to the usurper. On the receipt of this intelligence, William hastened to London, and was received by the magistrates and the principal citizens, who delivered up to him the keys, and, in common with the nobility and clergy, desired him to accept the crown. The first step taken by the Conqueror was the erection of a strong fortress, which he garrisoned with the

flower of his troops, with the view of overawing the citizens. On his return from visiting his Norman dominions, he was received with great state by the citizens; in return for which, he granted them a charter, written in Saxon characters, which was (and we believe still is) preserved in the archives of the city. The charter consists of four lines and a half, written on a slip of parchment, six inches by one, and runs as follows:

"William the king, friendly salutes William the bishop, and Godfrey the portreve, and all the burgesses within London, both French and English. And I declare that I grant you to be all laworthy, as you were in the days of King Edward; and I grant that every child shall be his father's heir, after his father's days; and I will not suffer any person to do you wrong. God keep you."

By a subsequent charter, the king granted a hide of land at Gadsden, in Hertfordshire, to the city. From this period, to the year 1132, a series of events happened to the city which it will be better to arrange chronologically.

In 1077, an accidental fire destroyed the greater part of the city; the White Tower of London was also built.

In 1091, a dreadful hurricane, in the month of November, blew down many churches, and upwards of 600 houses.

In 1093 and 1132, the city was again almost wholly destroyed by fires.

In 1097, William Rufus exacted large sums of money from the people, for carrying on his works at the Tower and Westminster, and for rebuilding London Bridge "anew with wood," the old bridge having been destroyed by a great land-flood in 1091.

In 1091, the effect of the tidal currents of the ocean was exhibited in an extraordinary manner, both in this year, and the year 1114. In the former year, a high spring tide overflowed the banks of the Thames, destroying an immense number of inhabitants, with their villages and cattle, and causing those extensive shoals known as the Goodwin sands. The latter year was as remarkable for the recession of the waters, which allowed persons to walk over the Thames dryshod, both above and below London Bridge.

King Henry I. granted a charter to the city of London of a very comprehensive character. By this charter the ancient immunities and privileges of the city were continued, and the following special privileges granted: 1. The jurisdiction in civil matters over the county of Middlesex, and the appointment of sheriff on the payment of a quit-rent of £300 per ann. 2. No citizen could be compelled to plead to any cause without the walls of the city. 3. Release from various dues payable to the crown. 4. An exemption from the ordeal of trial by battle. 5. Royal domestics and attachès not to be quartered in the city. 6. The citizens to enjoy free trade, or a release from all tolls, customs, &c., on goods, mer-

chandize, &c. 7. No citizen to be amerced, or fined beyond his ware, that is, the price of his head or life; in those ages, generously valued at the sum of 100*s*. 8. The power of reprisal on all towns that extorted tolls from the citizens, and of attaching the effects, in London, of all county debtors; and finally, the confirmation of all the privileges of hunting enjoyed by the citizens in Middlesex, Surrey, and the Chiltern Hundreds.

The spirit of this charter has been given to afford the reader some idea of the power enjoyed by the city of London, when a monarch found it necessary to grant such extensive and unreasonable privileges, in order to insure its support. The different fraternities or guilds of the city appear to have been established about this time.

In the struggle between Maud and Stephen for the crown of England, the city of London, influenced by the archbishops and bishops, who had violated their oaths by having previously sworn allegiance to Maud, declared in favour of Stephen; a decision of which they had great reason to repent, for that despotic monarch, shortly afterwards (1139), compelled them, in despite of the charter of Henry I., to pay one hundred marks, in silver, for the right to choose their own sheriffs. The success which attended the armies of Queen Maud, gave her an ample opportunity of punishing the folly and perfidy of the citizens, of which she was not slow to avail herself. They were, in 1141, divested of many of

their most valuable privileges, and Geoffrey Earl of Essex, was appointed justiciary of their city, and of the county of Middlesex. As a proof of the villany of the leading clergy in this age, it may be mentioned, that after the defeat of Stephen, they all deserted his cause, and flocked over to that of Maud; and even Stephen's own brother, Henry bishop of Winchester, upon promise of exclusive patronage in the church, received Maud with open arms, excommunicated all his brother's partizans, and absolved those who deserted his standard to join that of his successful rival. The citizens, after an ineffectual attempt to form a party in favour of Stephen, gave in their allegiance to the Queen, and attended by her uncle and the Queen of Scotland, she was received at London by the citizens with a state befitting the occasion. The high hand, however, with which Queen Maud ruled her subjects, resulted in her own downfall; she refused to permit the release of Stephen, or to accept his submission to her authority. She treated the prayer of the citizens, for a restoration of their privileges, with the scorn which, perhaps, it merited; and, more dangerous than all, she refused to comply with the avaricious demands of the bishop of Winchester. These malecontents having combined their forces, succeeded ultimately in driving Maud from the kingdom, and re-establishing Stephen on the throne. The weakness and imbecility of the government at this period proved a very inefficient barrier against the progress of

crime. Nightly outrages, in the form of robberies, burglaries, and even murders, were perpetrated in the city, and the disclosures consequent upon an accidental discovery of one of these parties, proved that the sons of rich citizens, and even citizens themselves, were concerned in them.

In 1176, the foundations of old London Bridge were laid, the previous bridge having been destroyed by a terrific fire which, in 1136, swept away a considerable portion of the city, extending from Aldgate on the one side, to St. Clements' Dane, in the Strand on the other. The earliest modern bridge over the Thames was erected between the years 993 and 1016. The structure referred to was of stone. The architect, as mentioned in king John's recommendatory letter, was Isenbert, master of the schools of Xaintes, and architect of the bridges of that place, and at Rochelle. About four years after its completion, a fire broke out in Southwark, and extended towards the bridge; a strong south wind wafted the fiery embers over to the Middlesex side of the bridge, and caused one of the buildings to ignite. The crowds of people who had thronged on the bridge to render assistance, were thus cut off on either side from escape, and it is calculated, that more than 3000 perished in the flames, or were drowned in their attempt to escape.

Charters were issued by kings Henry II. and Richard I. confirming the privileges granted to the city by Henry I. The antipathies of the age against

the unfortunate Jews were strongly marked; many of them had settled in London, and having, by their superior business habits, acquired immense wealth, were looked upon by their less successful competitors with envy, and by the rabble as fit subjects for plunder and violence. The religious (?) prejudices of the age were also, as religious prejudices always are, bitterly sanguinary. On the day preceding the coronation of Richard I. (Sept. 2, 1189), some intimation had been given to the Jews that it would be dangerous to attend that ceremony. Prompted, however, by an excusable curiosity, many of them attended at Westminster Abbey, and attempted to obtain admission, by bringing presents to the king. They were driven back by the officials of the Abbey, and a rumour instantly got abroad, that the king had given orders for their complete destruction. So strong was the prejudice, that this alone was sufficient for the angry populace. They fell upon every poor fellow whom they could identify as a son of Israel, and their sanguinary fury rested not till they had destroyed their victims. Not satisfied with this, they repaired to the city, plundered the houses of the unfortunate Jews, and burnt them, after murdering their inmates. The arm of the law, though powerless to prevent these atrocities, was sufficiently strong to punish them. The king caused the ringleaders to be apprehended the day afterwards, and hanged immediately. That the act of phrensy was, inagreat measure, a religious one, is evident from

the fact, that the monks countenanced the deed of blood, deeming the slaughter of heretics a meritorious action. King Richard, anxious to perform the conditions of the treaty entered into between his father and the king of France, jointly to undertake an expedition to Palestine, to redeem Jerusalem from the hands of the Saracens, directed a precept to the sheriff of London, Henry de Cornhill, to provide the arms and accoutrements necessary for this purpose; and when remonstrated with by the nobles, on the steps he took to raise money, by alienating the crown lands and selling privileges to various cities, replied, "That in a time of necessity it was no bad policy for a man to make use of his own," adding, "that if he could light on a proper purchaser, he would even sell the city of London." The king having, during his proposed sojourn in Palestine, appointed a regency, and the conduct of one of the regents, the bishop of Ely, having given offence, he was publicly deposed by the nobility, bishops and citizens, assembled in St. Paul's churchyard. Upon Richard's return to England, after the disastrous crusade, and consequent imprisonment in Germany, he was welcomed by the citizens in the most enthusiastic manner, and with the greatest display of splendour; a circumstance that gave rise to the well-known saying of a German nobleman, "That if the emperor had known the immense wealth of England, he would have demanded a far higher ransom." The citizens, at this time, paid

towards the king's ransom the sum of 1500 marks. In the year 1196, a dangerous insurrection broke out in the city, consequent on the proceedings of one Fitz Osbert, nicknamed Longbeard, between whose chin and the razor there existed a mortal enmity. Like a far higher character, his bodily presence was weak, for he was deformed; but his speech was weighty and eloquent. Espousing the popular cause, he soon found occasion to excite the people against a certain tax; and having raised a disturbance, he was cited before Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, the king's justiciary. He attended with such a numerous retinue of followers, that the archbishop was alarmed, and dismissed him with a polite reproof. An order was, however, issued to seize him; but when this was attempted, his small company defended themselves, and having come to the church of St. Mary-le-Bow, in Cheapside, they shut themselves in, and fortified the steeple. The mob, on the intelligence reaching them of the condition of their favourite, assembled in crowds, but were persuaded by the magistrates to return home. The recusants were then smoked out by means of a fire, and Longbeard being taken, was, with eight of his followers, executed in Smithfield. A relation of his, a priest, pretended that miracles were wrought at his place of execution, and the people crowded thither in such great numbers, preserving the earth on which even a particle of his blood had fallen, that the authorities found it necessary to employ

a body of soldiers to drive the deluded fanatics away. In the year 1197, Richard II., in consideration of the sum of 1500 marks, granted to the city the first charter for the conservation of the river Thames. The charter, however, only went to the extent of commanding all weirs (for the capture of fish) to be removed anywhere within the Thames, and forbade the keeper of the Tower to receive any dues arising from them. In the last year of this king's reign, the sheriffs of London and Middlesex were commanded to provide standard weights and measures to be sent to all the counties in the kingdom.

King John, on his accession to the crown in 1199, by three separate charters, confirmed to the city the privileges granted by his predecessors; and, in addition, granted them exemption from all tolls in his foreign dominions, and the power of removing all weirs in the rivers Thames and Medway. By a similar ordinance, passed two years afterwards, the guild of weavers were expelled the city for some offence that is not specified. In 1205, the emperor Otho arrived in London, and was received by the citizens with great pomp and splendour. Two years afterwards, Henry Fitz Alwyn, who had for twenty years enjoyed the title of bailiff of the city, was permitted to assume the title of mayor. Four years afterwards, the sheriffs of London were imprisoned by order of the king, in consequence of their refusal to allow the royal purveyor to take back, out of the city, a quantity of corn that he had

brought in to be disposed of in a period of scarcity. Upon proper representation, however, being made to the king, he immediately ordered their liberation. In 1210, king John summoned a Parliament to meet him at his palace at St. Bride's, London, when he exacted of the clergy the sum of £100,000, and £40,000 from the white monks. An interdiction of divine worship by the pope followed, and the public ordinances of religion were not performed for some time. One of the first acts of resistance to the insolent power of the monarch, a resistance which, it must be borne in mind, ended in Magna Charta being signed, was on the part of an officer of the city, Robert Fitz Walter, castellain and standard-bearer, one of the barons, who refused to give security for his allegiance to the monarch, and fled into France. His splendid palace at Baynard's Castle was immediately destroyed, by order of the king. At the same period, the pope's legate received the submission of the low-minded monarch in St. Paul's Cathedral. By the fifth and last charter of John, A.D. 1215, the privilege of electing their chief magistrate from amongst themselves, was conferred on the citizens, an office which had hitherto been filled up by the monarch himself.

And now the barons of England having gathered strength and unity of purpose, prepared for that struggle, which resulted in the great charter of a nation's rights. Having arrived in London, they repaired to the New Temple, where the king was

then staying, and demanded of him the re-establishment of king Edward's laws. The king rejected their demands; and the barons soon found the citizens ready to join them in their resistance to the sovereign. The barons, who were encamped at Bedford, instantly repaired to London, and entered the city on the 24th of May, having marched from Ware the previous night. The gates were thrown open to them, and the weak but vain monarch, bereft of his strong-hold, was but too glad to surrender. Magna Charta was signed, the 13th article of which confirms the privileges anciently enjoyed by the city of London.

The barons, mistrustful of the honesty of John, retained possession of the city and Tower of London till the great Charta was signed; but they found that no tie, however solemn, could bind so faithless a monarch. John applied to the pope to absolve him from his oath, and by treacherous negotiations with continental powers, procured large armies from France and the Netherlands. The barons retired to London, and in their emergency, sent an invitation to Louis, eldest son of king Philip of France, offering him the crown of the realm. In the meantime, the foreign mercenaries of John having ravaged the country, approached the city of London; but the citizens, nothing daunted, threw open their gates, and mustered their forces to receive him. John, dispirited by this step, withdrew his troops, but one of his generals, advancing too near the city, was

wounded, and his detachment routed by the civic forces. The city, at the same time, fitted out a powerful fleet to clear the coast of pirates that infested the river and the adjacent coasts. It was successful—sixty-five ships being taken and destroyed. Louis shortly arrived with a powerful army, and was received in great state by the citizens of London. On the death of John, Henry III. became king, and Louis concluded a treaty of peace, and retired to his own country. Having expressly stipulated in this treaty for the ancient privileges of London, the citizens, in acknowledgment, lent him the sum of 5000 marks, to pay his debts before he embarked for France. In the year 1218, the forest of Middlesex, which would appear to have extended almost to the city walls, was disforested, and the citizens purchased a great portion of the lands, and enlarged the suburbs. At the same time, the prison of Newgate was repaired by order of the king. The citizens, in the same year, gave the monarch a fifteenth of their personal estates for the confirmation of their ancient privileges. In 1220, an edict was issued commanding all foreigners, with the exception of those engaged as merchants, to quit the town by the Michaelmas following. It may be readily surmised that Henry, irritated at the conduct of the city, in sending for Louis to assume the crown during his predecessor's life, would soon find some opportunity of punishing his former opponents. In consequence of their success at a wrestling

match with the men of Westminster, many of the citizens were beaten and wounded by the retainers of the abbot of that place. An eminent citizen, named Constantine Fitz Arnulph, espoused the cause of the injured men in a somewhat intemperate manner; and, having had the boldness to avow his offence before the chief justiciary, was, with two others, executed the next morning, notwithstanding that he offered 15,000 marks for his own pardon. Many of the citizens were also brutally maimed; the mayor and magistrates were degraded from their office, and a custos set over the city by the crown. The citizens were also compelled to find thirty sureties for their good behaviour, and to pay many thousand marks to the king. The conduct of the king, however, led the Parliament to demand and obtain from him a confirmation of Magna Charta. The avarice of the monarch knew no bounds; he exacted 5000 marks on the ground that they had given a similar sum to his enemy, Louis, and also made them pay, for their charters, a second fifteenth part of their personal estates; he assessed a poll tax upon them of a very oppressive character, and again exacted a further sum of £20,000. On the marriage of Henry with Eleanor of Provence, they were escorted into London by a calvalcade of citizens in a scene of the most imposing splendour. The merchants of Amiens and other places, about this time, paid a tax to the city for permission to land and house wood therein. About this time, also, pipes

were first laid down for the supply of water from Tyburn to London. The water was conveyed from six wells, at the latter place, through a six-inch leaden pipe. The city had been previously supplied from several small streams and canals, in and near the city, the principal of which were the river wells, which took their rise at the west of London, Holborn-brook, Wall-brook, Langhorne-brook, &c. These rills, the produce of springs, were lost by the number of buildings erected along their course. In the year 1238, Baldwin, the Greek Emperor, having arrived in England, was received in great state by the citizens. The enmity of Henry against the city still continued, and various acts of persecution were carried on against the citizens. Some of these acts, however, were called for by the venality of the official functionaries. Gerard Batt, who was re-chosen mayor in 1241, was rejected by the king, for extorting money from the victuallers during a former mayoralty. In 1244, Griffith, eldest son of the Prince of Wales, in attempting to escape from the top of the Tower of London, lost his life; the rope, made of sheets, table-cloths, &c., being too weak to support his corpulent body. The rapacity of the king still continued, and his exactions from the citizens were renewed day by day. An ordinance came out about this time, for covering houses with tiles or slates, instead of straw, in order to prevent the ravages of fires which were of almost daily occurrence. The citizens were also

ordered by the king to choose one of their best artists, as *custos cunii,* or keeper of the mint. In the same year, 1245, the corporation purchased, for the annual fee of £50 per annum, the farm of Queenhithe, in Thames-street, from the earl of Cornwall. The exactions of the priests having, with those of the monarch, almost drained the mercantile community of its money, it was resolved, at the Parliament held at Westminster, in 1247, to send letters to the popes and cardinals, humbly entreating them to consider the miserable state of the nation, and not to ruin the people entirely by their abominable exactions. The seal of the corporation was, by order of Parliament, affixed to these letters. On Valentine's eve, this year, an earthquake was felt in London, which destroyed a great many houses. The Parliament, in the following year, began to make a stand against the cruel exactions of the monarch. They refused to grant him any for his pecuniary aid. The king incensed, dissolved the Parliament, but his poverty was such, that he was obliged to sell his plate and jewels. On being told that he could find purchasers in the city of London, he replied, "That if the treasure of Augustus were to be sold, the city of London could purchase it;" adding, "that those clownish Londoners, who call themselves barons, and abound in all things, are an immense treasure of themselves," a fact he had fully realized, by the extent to which he had drained their coffers. Every scheme he could

adopt to obtain money, whether of an insinuating character, or *tout au contraire*, he appears to have resorted to; at one time, trying to work upon their religious enthusiasm, by proposing a crusade; at another, fermenting disturbances amongst them by his own domestics, that he might have the opportunity of mulcting them in fines, for their unruly conduct. Remonstrances and prayers were vain. The sovereign was the greedy horse-leech, everlastingly crying, "Give, give." By a subsequent charter, given in consideration of receiving five hundred marks, he again confirmed their ancient privileges, and granted them the power of presenting their newly-elected mayor to the barons of the exchequer, in the absence of the king. As a proof of his insatiable rapacity, we find the following instances recorded, between the years 1254-6. In 1254, there was the tax for *aurum reginæ*, or queen's gold. In 1255, he accepted a gift of £100; and afterwards, (because his majesty was not satisfied), a valuable piece of plate was presented to him. In the same year the city was fined three thousand marks, for the escape of a prisoner. In 1256, a demand for a similar sum, and a further sum of four hundred marks, for the restitution of the liberties which had been suspended for non-payment of the former sum; also, a further sum of one hundred marks in the same year. In the following year, William de Valence, half-brother to the king, having, without provocation, wounded several citizens, was stoned to

death by the populace. The exactions of the king and the pope, with the sum of money taken over to Germany by Richard, king of the Romans (amounting, it is said, to £700,000), caused a general stagnation of trade, to which two deficient harvests, owing to profuse rains, followed; and a famine ensued, carrying off, in London alone, no less than twenty thousand persons. The first gold coinage in England, in the form of a penny, took place in this year. Fortified by the assistance of the city, the barons, under the earl of Leicester, after several vain attempts to moderate the tyrannical rapacity of the monarch, declared war against him. Their forces were swelled by volunteers from the ranks of the citizens, who, however, lacked sadly the discipline necessary to encounter a well-organized soldiery. Leicester, at first, was successful; and the king, prince Edward, and the king of the Romans, were taken prisoners by the barons; but Edward having contrived to escape, and mustering a powerful army, revenged his former ill success by the defeat of Leicester's army, and the death of the earl and his son. The king, again in possession of power, continued his oppressive and cruel extortions upon the citizens, demanding from them 60,000 marks, but ultimately accepting 20,000. Another powerful insurrection, raised by the earl of Gloucester, in 1267, put the city again in the power of the barons; but the citizens either lacked the courage or the will this

time to support them, and, on the approach of Henry, a peace was concluded between the rival powers. All this time the city was a prey to the fury of contending factions; and what with the rapacity of the mob, on the one hand, and the king on the other, was well nigh ruined. The unfortunate Jews also, who, notwithstanding their persecutions, still lingered about the city with as much attachment as if it were their Israel of by-gone days, were, at every whim of the mob, dragged from their habitations and murdered, and their property plundered; while they were able to purchase exemption, from kingly and priestly violence, only by the payment of large sums of money. So completely was the social state of London disorganized, that brute violence alone prevailed; and, in the scramble for power, that party which was defeated to-day was successful to-morrow. In the meantime came one who alone could stop the progress of royal cupidity. Death threw its mantle over the aged king, and prince Edward succeeded to the throne of his father.

Edward I., at the death of his father, was in the Holy Land; and his first act was, to banish his old enemies, the Flemings, from London. On his arrival in London, in 1274, he was received with great splendour by the authorities, the chief citizens profusely scattering silver and gold amongst the mob. A squabble about the election of mayor, which seemed to threaten a riot, caused the king to appoint a custos, till Sir Walter Harvey was

chosen mayor. The rapacity of tradesmen, at that time, caused Edward to issue an ordinance, regulating the prices of provisions. By this law, the best capon was sold for 2d., the best goose at 5d., the best swan or crane 3s., the best peacock at 1s., and the best lamb at 4d. per lb., (from Christmas to Lent, 6d.) The prevalence of usury caused a law to be passed, that all usurers were to wear a badge in public, or else to quit the kingdom. Jews were altogether forbidden to lend money on usury. In 1275, Edward employed the Lord Mayor, Gregory Rokeslie, on a foreign embassy, and by the king's orders the office of mayor was vested in four officers, chosen by the citizens. A dreadful earthquake happened in this year, which appears to have been attended with very disastrous effects, both in London and in the country. In 1281, London Bridge being in a ruinous and dangerous condition, the king issued letters patent for a general collection throughout the kingdom, and also empowering the mayor to take a certain toll, to enable the city to complete the repairs. Two years after, five arches of the bridge were carried away by the ice, on the breaking up of the frost. In the year 1282, fell Llewellyn, the last British king of Wales, who was treacherously betrayed into the hands of the English. His head was cut off and sent to Edward, who ordered it to be carried into London, where a cavalcade of citizens met the messenger who conveyed it, and conducted him into the city

with trumpets and horns. The head was then carried through Cheapside, on a lance, crowned with a silver chaplet, and set on the pillory on that spot till night, when it was removed to the Tower, where it was fixed, with a wreath of ivy surrounding it. Laurence Ducket, a goldsmith, having, in 1284, wounded one Ralph Crepin, took refuge in Bow Church. In the night, Crepin's friends stole into the church, and having killed Ducket, hung him in one of the windows, so as to induce a belief that he had committed suicide. The coroner's jury returned a verdict of *felo de se ;* but a boy, who had witnessed the murder, gave information to the city authorities, and the ring-leaders were hanged. One woman, who contrived the murder, was burnt alive. A short time previous to this, the city was divided into twenty-four wards, each of which chose their own common councilmen to represent them. In consequence of some disturbances in the city, the Lord Treasurer summoned the civic authorities before him to render an account of the manner in which the king's peace was kept. The mayor, Gregory Rockeslie, deeming this an invasion of the privileges of the city, refused to attend in his official capacity ; and the king, in consequence, appointed a custos, or governor, for twelve years. This revolution in the government, gave rise to some disorders, which led to robberies, and even murders ; the result of which was, that no stranger was allowed to carry a weapon, or to be seen in the

streets after the ringing of the curfew-bell. Edward, on his return from France, in 1290, set to work in earnest to redress the grievances under which the citizens laboured. The usurious practices of the Jews were punished by their banishment, and the confiscation of their goods; and the Chief Justice and other high legal officers, who had been guilty of malpractices, were either banished or fined in heavy penalties. Fifteen thousand and sixty Jews were thus banished; one fifteenth of whose property and estates was granted to the king by the Parliament. It having been represented to Edward, that certain of the clergy had been confined in the prison of Cornhill, called the Tunne, where lewd and disorderly persons were kept, out of mere spite, he forbade their confinement in future, under a penalty of £20. This mandate gave offence to those who, doubtless, thought the act made an unjust distinction between the clergy and the laity; and they broke open the Tunne prison, and set its inmates at liberty. These parties, however, were punished with a lengthened imprisonment; and the city, for not suppressing the riot, was fined twenty thousand marks. Acts confirmatory of the privileges of the city, and regulating the price of provisions, were published about this time. In the year 1305, the ever-memorable Sir William Wallace, was brought a prisoner to London, and lodged in the house of one William Delect, in Fenchurch Street. On the 23rd August, in the same year, he was conducted

through the city. He was tried at Westminster, where he was seated on a bench in a derisive manner, with laurels on his head, and accompanied by a crowd of persons. He refused to acknowledge the power of the court to try him, alleging that he was only a prisoner of war, taken while defending his country. He was condemned to suffer a disgraceful death in Smithfield, where he was hanged, drawn, and quartered; his head was fixed on a pole on London Bridge, and his four quarters sent to Scotland to be placed over the gates of as many principal cities. It may seem strange to modern ears, but it is, nevertheless, true, that in the following year, when the king conferred the order of knighthood on the Prince of Wales, the city contributed, towards the expenses, the sum of £2000. Another fact, equally startling to a manufacturing community, is the prohibition of the use of coal, by a special edict; this invaluable mineral being forbidden on account of the complaints of the nobility and gentry, resorting to the city, who alleged the same objection that is now urged against the insalubrity of manufacturing districts—the thick and noisome smoke. The proclamation being disregarded, a commission of Oyer and Terminer was issued to punish the contumacious manufacturers, who, wiser than their rulers, had already discovered the value of the mineral.

Edward II. commenced his reign inauspiciously; there being a sum of £83 11s. unpaid on account

of a certain rate, he ordered the issue of a writ to distrain the goods of the mayor, aldermen, and citizens, for the whole amount. He also attempted to levy a poll tax on the city, in common with the other parts of the kingdom; but the citizens resisted it on the ground of the exemption afforded them by Magna Charta; and the king ultimately ceded this right on condition that a loan of £1000, previously granted to him, was converted into a gift. Attempts were afterwards made to enforce this tax again; but the citizens were once more enabled to purchase exemption by a loan to the government. In 1318, the city contributed two hundred men, as its *quotum* of the army sent against the Scots, who, at that time, had ravaged England as far as Yorkshire and Lancashire. Murders and other outrages were at this period very common; and the mayor, John de Wangrave, was severely reprimanded by the Lord Treasurer for not displaying more vigour in the suppression of those tumults.

The mayor and aldermen appear, also, to have acted very tyrannically towards their brother citizens, ejecting from their seats those common councilmen who opposed their arbitrary proceedings. Complaint was made against them to the Lord Treasurer by the jury of Aldermanbury, and the mayor, Sir John Gisors, and other principal citizens were summoned to appear before him; but they absconded, and a parliament subsequently met in London, which, being attended with a host of rude

soldiers, compelled the citizens to place a strong armed guard at the gates. In consequence of the insurrection of Lancaster, an army consisting chiefly of Londoners, was sent to reduce the castle of Leeds, in Kent, which they accomplished; and the king, in acknowledgment, granted them immunity from service in any subsequent wars; the city, in return, presented his majesty with two thousand marks towards the expenses of the war in Scotland. The zeal of the citizens unfortunately availed them nothing; for the king having defeated Lancaster, forced the citizens to pay him a further sum of two thousand marks, under pretence of seizing their liberties. The queen consort having procured the assistance of her brother, the king of France, proceeded to wage war against her own husband. The Tower of London was fortified, and well stored with provisions, the monarch doubting the loyalty of the citizens. The queen having, in the meantime, sent a letter requesting the aid of the citizens, the latter declared in her favour, beheaded Stapleton, bishop of Exeter, the custos of the city, forcibly took the keys of the Tower from Sir John de Weston, the constable, and discharged all the prisoners. The queen's party was ultimately triumphant; and, Edward II. being taken prisoner, was compelled to abdicate the throne in favour of his son, Edward III. The new king, in consideration of the valuable assistance rendered to him by the citizens, commenced his reign by granting them

two new charters. The provisions of these charters were full, and highly satisfactory; they confirmed all the provisions granted by the previous charters; and, in addition, many new and valuable privileges. At the same time, a charter was granted to one Simon, a merchant, exempting him from all taxation, and from being compelled to serve any of the civic offices.

A dangerous insurrection occurred, in 1328, through the conduct of various tradesmen, which however, was quelled, though not without the intervention of the crown. In the following year, the king entertained the French ambassadors with a grand tournament in Cheapside. The adulteration of wines, at this time, called forth a special edict from the king against that practice. The prevalence of robberies, and murders also, and a famine, which greatly enhanced the price of provisions, caused other acts, on the part of the monarch, forbidding the practice of wearing arms, and of charging an extravagant price for provisions. In 1338, Richard de Bettoyne, who was mayor of London at the time of the coronation, complained, by petition, that having, by virtue of his office as butler, on that occasion, received the customary fee of a gold cup, and a gold ewer, the sum of £89 12s. 6d. had now been demanded of him for the said fee. In the following year, the sum of 20,000 marks was raised by assessment in the city, by way of loan to the king, to

enable him to carry on his wars in Scotland and France. About the same time, in consequence of a dangerous quarrel between the fishmongers and skinners, two citizens were beheaded for assaulting the mayor (Andrew Aubey), who had proceeded to quell the tumult. The king being again in want of money to carry on the war in France, ordered that every citizen possessed of more than £40 per annum, should take upon himself the order of knighthood. The citizens, however, declined this honour; and, by an evasive answer, managed to get rid of the difficulty.

In 1346, after the battle of Neuilles Cross, near Durham, David, king of Scotland, was taken prisoner, and brought to London, where he was confined in the Tower. Two years afterwards, a terrible plague, which first broke out in India, almost decimated the population of the city. New burial-grounds were opened, and it was computed that at least 100,000 persons perished in London alone. In 1355, the citizens raised, at their own expense, twenty-five men at arms, and five-hundred archers, all in one livery, to assist the king in his war with France. Two years afterwards, the French king, John, being taken prisoner after the battle of Poictiers, was brought to London; the citizens, more to do honour than to disgrace the king, conducted him from Southwark in a style of splendour previously unparalleled. From the same generous feeling, Edward the Black Prince, his conqueror, rode by his side on a small black

galloway, while the French king was mounted on a noble white charger. The French having ravaged the coasts of Sussex, the city fitted out a powerful fleet, which made reprisals on the French coast. In 1363, Henry Picard, late mayor of London, entertained the king and the prince of Wales with their distinguished guests, the kings of Scotland, France, and Cyprus. Soon afterwards, Edward III., who had fallen into the sear and yellow leaf of life, gave a grand tournament in Smithfield, to divert his mistress, one Alice Perrers. The tournament was a grand one, and was continued for seven days. The latter days of this monarch were remarkable for a tumult which took place in the city consequent upon the citing of the celebrated Wickliffe, the reformer, before the bishop of London, by order of the pope. The duke of Lancaster, son of the king, and Earl Percy, marshal of England, accompanied Wickliffe; and having boldly spoken their minds to the bishop, the populace, in a fit of fanaticism, attacked the palaces of both these noblemen, and destroyed them. The king, however, punished the city for not suppressing this tumult, by dismissing Adam Staple, the mayor, and several of the aldermen from their offices. The important events which characterized the reign of the succeeding monarch, Richard II., would need a distinct notice, were it not that these events have been already fully detailed in other parts of this work; they were, briefly, the memorable rebellion of Wat Tyler, the

bravery of Sir William Walworth, and Sir John Philpot, and the sanctimonious hypocrisy of John Northampton. To the lives of these mayors we therefore refer the reader for the events of this reign. Not long after the insurrection, under Wat Tyler, a dangerous civil war broke out between the barons, under the duke of Gloucester and the monarch, in which the city took part with the barons. Sir Nicholas Bembre, late Mayor of London, and a favourite of the king, was found guilty of high treason, and executed at Tyburn by order of the Parliament, who had now triumphed over the monarch. The civil war being over, and conditions of peace entered into by the barons and the king, the latter applied to the city for the loan of a sum of money. This was not only peremptorily refused by the city, but a Lombard merchant, who offered to lend the sum, was inhumanly beaten. The king, in revenge for this, availed himself of the first opportunity against the city, and committed the mayor and others to prison. The civic functionaries were also mulcted in heavy fines, and the liberties of the city seized. The city, notwithstanding the magnificent reception they gave the king subsequently, were compelled to pay the sum of 3000 marks for the restoration of their privileges, and a further sum of £10,000 for the right of electing their mayor. King Richard arrived in London in 1396, with his young queen Isabella, then only eight years of age, when the citizens having met them on Blackheath,

escorted them into the city with great pomp. The next year, the king received the citizens on Blackheath. About this time the Duke of Hereford (afterwards Henry IV.) was invited by some of the barons to come over from France, and assume the sovereignty. Richard found himself, at this most critical period of his reign, deserted by the principal barons. He accepted the terms offered to him, and was afterwards perfidiously seized and confined in prison. The citizens, always ready to side with the victorious party, were so incensed against the unfortunate king, on account of the various punishments he had inflicted upon them (in many cases it must be said but too justly), that they met the duke of Hereford, desiring, in the name of all the citizens, to put the king to death. This barbarous request was, however, refused by the duke. The first act of Parliament, on the accession of Henry, was to commit Richard to prison for the term of his natural life. He was at first sent to Leeds Castle, in Kent, but afterwards to that of Pontefract, where he was assassinated. Several of the dukes, bishops, and others, formed a plan for assassinating king Henry, by inviting him to a tournament. The plot, however, was discovered, and Henry threw himself upon the city. They soon mustered an army, and on the march of the conspirators from Oxford, awaited them on Hounslow-heath. But the rebel army, alarmed at the opposition of the king, dispersed themselves,

and their leaders being taken prisoners, the rebellion was crushed. The king, in return for the assistance rendered by the citizens, rewarded them with many privileges.

In 1407, another dreadful pestilence visited the city, sweeping off 30,000 inhabitants, and being attended with a plentiful harvest, the price of wheat, from the want of an adequate consumption, fell to 3s. 4d. a quarter. In March, 1410, John Badby, a follower of Wickliffe, was burnt in Smithfield, for alleged heresy; and the prince of Wales, who witnessed his murder, affected by his sufferings, offered him pardon and a pension for life, if he would recant; he resolutely refused, and sealed his testimony with his death. In the same year, the Guildhall was built.

Henry having made a vow to visit the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, prepared for the journey; but having repaired to St. Edmund's shrine in Westminster Abbey, he was seized with illness, which, in a short time, ended in his death. His eldest son was immediately proclaimed king, under the title of Henry V. His previous dissolute life had prepared the citizens for the government of a bad monarch, but in this they were mistaken, for Henry applied his mind vigorously to the cares of the nation. A plot against his life was soon detected; and, by the aid of the citizens, the offenders were seized and punished. A bill having been moved in Parliament for seizing on the eccle-

siastical benefices, the bishops, with the view of retarding the measure, persuaded the king to attempt the recovery of his French dominions. The king acquiesced; and the result was, the battle of Agincourt, which was communicated by a king's messenger to Nicholas Wotton, the Mayor of London, as he was riding to his inauguration. The event was celebrated by a solemn procession, on foot, to the shrine of St. Edward, at Westminster, in which the queen, nobility, and civic officers, took a part. On the return of the king with the French noblesse, his prisoners, the mayor and other dignitaries, with a splendid cavalcade, met him on Blackheath, and conducted him with great splendour to London. In this year, 1415, Sir Henry Barton, the mayor, first ordered lanterns to be hung out in the streets of London at night, an event far more beneficial to the city than the great victory which preceded it. The king's coffers having been emptied by the late war, he was compelled to raise money by pawning his crown to the Bishop of Winchester for 20,000 marks, and his jewels to the citizens of London for 1000 marks.

On the marriage of Henry with Catherine, daughter of the king of France, the mayor and principal citizens met him on his return to England, and accompanied him into the city in great state. Two years after this, Henry died in France, and his remains, which passed through the city in romantic splendour, were interred in Westminster Abbey.

Henry VI., though only eight months old, was proclaimed king immediately on the death of his father, and, on Nov. 14, 1422, was carried in great state on his mother's lap in an open chair through the city, to the Hall of Parliament at Westminster. The Dukes of Gloucester and Bedford, his uncles, were his guardians. A quarrel, however, occurred between the former and the Bishop of Winchester, his uncle; the bishop had formed a design to seize the city of London (then the first rallying place of all contending factions) on the night of Lord Mayor's day, when the city, like Babylon of old, would be the scene of festivities; Gloucester, however, received intimation of the plot, and urged the mayor to make preparations for the safety of the city. In the morning, the bishop's faction mustered at Southwark, and attempted to enter the city. The citizens, however, were prepared for them, but through the forbearance of John Coventry, the mayor, hostilities were stopped. The Duke of Bedford interposed, and peace was restored for a time. The young king, who had been crowned in Paris, as king of both France and England, having returned to his own country, was met on Blackheath by the mayor, and conducted to London; two days afterwards, the citizens presented him with one thousand pounds in a golden hamper. Shortly after this, through the exertions of Sir John Wells and Sir William Eastfield, both mayors of London, a more general supply of water was brought from

Tyburn to the conduits of the city. The citizens, in 1435, in revenge for the revolt of the Duke of Burgundy, massacred many of his subjects and other foreigners—an act of brutality which was reprobated by Henry. The Duke having, in the following year, laid siege to Calais, the citizens raised a number of armed men at their own expense, by whose exertions, conjointly with the rest of the army, the siege was raised. A dreadful famine happened in 1438, which reduced the poor to exist on fern-roots and berries; the calamity was somewhat softened in London by the judicious care of Stephen Brown, the mayor, who sent for large freights of rye from Prussia. A quarrel of a very singular nature occurred in the following year, between the city and the dean and chapter of St. Martin's-le-Grand. A prisoner, on his way from Newgate to Guildhall, was rescued from the officers by his comrades, who took "sanctuary" in St. Martin's. The sheriffs forcibly took the prisoner and his companions from thence. The dean and chapter complained to the king of the invasion of their privileges, and the prisoners were ultimately ordered back to the "sanctuary." Humphrey, the good Duke of Gloucester, was murdered in 1447, to the great regret of the citizens. About this time the first efforts in the cause of education were made by four clergymen of the city of London, who petitioned Parliament for liberty to establish schools. The king immediately granted their request.

In 1450, the celebrated rebellion of Jack Cade took place. Cade having mustered a body of peasantry, marched to Blackheath; the king sent an army against him, and Cade pretended to retreat. The king, entrapped by this artifice, sent a detachment under the command of Sir Humphrey Stafford, to Seven Oaks. Cade, by means of an ambuscade, succeeded in cutting off Stafford and his detachment. Flushed with success, he marched to London, where he committed various acts of barbarity. The citizens growing weary of his brutal acts, shut the gates of the city against his band, and, in his attempt to force the gates, defeated him. Shortly afterwards, his army deserted him, and he, being discovered in a garden at Hothfield, in Sussex, was killed. Godfrey Fielding, the mayor, at this period was, for his conduct, raised to the rank of a privy counsellor. John Norman, the mayor, in 1455, first adopted the custom of going by water to Westminster in a state barge on the day of installation. The remaining events of this reign are not worthy of particular notice; they consisted chiefly of riots which kept the city in a continued state of agitation. In the meantime, an army was raised against the king, by the Earls of Warwick, March, &c.; which, after being alternately victorious and defeated, at last succeeded in dethroning the king, and appointing the Earl of March under the title of Edward IV. One of the first acts of the new monarch was to put to death an eminent

grocer, named Walter Warwick, for inadvertently saying that his son was heir to the *crown,* meaning his own house which bore that sign. By a charter issued in the second year of his reign, Edward granted to the city the following important privileges:—First. The mayor, recorder, and alderman, past the chair, were to become permanent justices of the peace. Second. They were also freed from serving all subordinate civic offices. Third. The annexation, to a certain extent, of Southwark.

A fashion having sprung up of wearing shoes, whose toes turned up to a monstrous length, a proclamation was made that such toes were not to exceed two inches in length, on pain of excommunication, and a forfeiture of twenty shillings by the wearer.

Sir Thomas Cook, late Lord Mayor, having been unjustly impeached for high treason, was condemned to pay a fine of £8000 to the king, 800 marks to the queen, and the loss of a large amount of his property.

In 1469, the Earl of Warwick raised a powerful army, and having surprised the king, imprisoned him; Edward, however, escaped, and having mustered a powerful force, returned to London. He was soon compelled to fly to Holland, and the late monarch, Henry, after an imprisonment of six years, was liberated, and again proclaimed king. The chances of war soon restored Edward to the throne, and Henry was again shut up in a dungeon.

After suppressing various other dangerous riots, Edward enjoyed, during the remainder of his life, a short interval of peace. In 1482, the king invited the mayor and citizens to a grand hunt in Waltham Chase, where a great number of red and fallow deer were killed by the civic Nimrods.

The treatment of the young king Edward V., by his uncle, Richard Duke of Gloucester, is too well-known to need mention here. The latter having caused himself to be declared protector, beheaded Hastings, and succeeded, by cunning and force, in obtaining the crown of England. The events in the history of Richard III. bear no important relation to the interests of the city, and we pass over them, therefore, in silence. The Earl of Richmond, having at Richard's death, succeeded to the crown, under the title of Henry VII., the Lord Mayor and aldermen met him at Hornsey Park, and accompanied him to the city, where he was received in due form. One of his first acts was to borrow of the city 3,000 marks, which, *mirabile dictu,* he punctually paid back. This, however, was only a transient gleam of generosity; for he soon became odious to the city by the taxes he levied on them, and the fines he exacted from the citizens under the most nefarious pretexts. A rebellion of the Cornish men under Lord Audley, in 1497, was with some little difficulty suppressed. The early days of Henry VIII. were unstained by any of those acts of voluptuous cruelty which characterized his later

life. Disguised as a yeoman of the guard, he came into the city on St. John's Eve, 1510, to see the "pompous march of the city watch;" and being much pleased with it, attended shortly afterwards with his consort to witness a repetition of these mummeries. A riot, which broke out on evil May-day, was attended with some disastrous consequences, the London apprentices having plundered the houses of several foreigners, and committed other atrocities. The tumult was, however, suppressed, and the rioters punished. Henry being in want of money, Cardinal Wolsey issued commissions in the king's name, for levying the sixth part of the goods and chattels of the laity, and the fourth part of those of the clergy. The city, however, refused to submit to this monstrous imposition; and, in the end, it was abandoned. A war with Spain, then the great market for broad cloths, caused a complete stagnation, by which the merchants of London suffered considerably. Henry, being desirous of repudiating queen Catherine, his consort, a court sat in Blackfriars, to determine the legality of the marriage. In the same year (1529), proclamation was made in London, prohibiting all intercourse with the subjects of the Pope, in consequence of the quarrel between Henry and the sovereign pontiff. Two years afterwards, on the appearance of Tindal's translation of the New Testament into the vernacular tongue, Stokesley, Bishop of London, bought up all the copies he could procure,

and caused them to be burnt at Paul's Cross. A quarrel afterwards originated between this worthy prelate and his equally worthy followers, the clergy, who, on his demanding a sum of money (required by Henry as a satisfaction for having attempted to thwart his purposes), forced themselves into his chapter-house, and beat his servants.

In 1532, a general muster of the citizens was held at Mile End, when a census was taken of all capable of bearing arms, and also of the implements of war belonging to the city. On the occasion of Henry's marriage with the unfortunate Anne Boleyn, the Lord Mayor, at the command of the king, made arrangements for her reception in a style of magnificence unsurpassed by any previous event. In return for this extravagant splendour, the king invited the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and principal citizens, to the christening of his daughter, the princess Elizabeth. In June, 1535, Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More were executed on Tower Hill for refusing to take the oath according to the act of succession. In 1536, scarcely three years after she had been made a bride, the unfortunate Anne Boleyn fell a victim to the hate of the brutal king, being executed in the Tower.

An extraordinary circumstance is recorded on the annals of the common council, (about 1539), which is only explicable on the supposition that the subject of it was a man of extraordinary judgment and integrity. It was an order that one Paul Wythyn

Poole should be present at all its meetings, as well as at the elections of mayors and sheriffs. Anne, of Cleves, the next consort of Henry VIII. was at this time received into London with a display of pomp almost equal to that which welcomed her unfortunate predecessor. In 1542, the sheriffs of London were called to the bar of the house of commons, and committed to prison in the Tower, for refusing to obey the order of that house for the liberation of George Ferrers, member for Plymouth, who had been arrested in the city for debt. The task of paving London, a work exceeding the pyramids in importance, and still more in usefulness, which had been partially commenced, was in the year 1543, carried out to a large extent. In the next year, the king being in want of money to carry on the war in Scotland, borrowed of the different companies of London the sum of £21,263 6s. 8d. Not being satisfied with this vast sum, he endeavoured to raise a further amount, by way of gift, or as it was then termed, "benevolence." Richard Reed, an alderman, having positively refused to grant the sum demanded of him, was cruelly sentenced to serve in the army in Scotland as a common soldier. Notwithstanding this infamous conduct on the part of the king, we find the city, a short time afterwards, raising, at its own expense, a regiment of foot, one thousand strong, to reinforce the army of France. Shortly before the death of the haughty sovereign, the Earl of Surrey was, after a pretended trial before

Martin Bowes, the Lord Mayor, condemned to death for high treason. On the accession of Edward VI., in 1546, he was received in the city in a very cordial manner. Some serious differences occurred with the Duke of Somerset the (protector), the Earl of Warwick, and others, which were fortunately rectified by the wisdom of the court of common council. Mary, queen of Scotland, on her return from France to her own country, in 1550, was sumptuously entertained in London by the mayor and citizens. After the death of Somerset, who was executed on Tower Hill in 1552, the nation continued quiet till the death of Edward. The city, at first, sided with the Lady Jane Grey; but afterwards, finding the nation generally predisposed in favour of Mary, they proclaimed her in Cheapside. On the breaking out of Sir Thomas Wyat's rebellion, the citizens, at the solicitation of the queen, supplied a body of five hundred men to march against Wyat. The city troops, however, on a speech from their commander Brett, revolted, and joined the party of Wyat, which directed its march towards London. At this alarming crisis, Mary repaired to Guildhall, and addressed the citizens, urging them to defend her cause. Wyat, however, failed in his attack on the city, and being persuaded to surrender, was executed. The subsequent events of Mary's dark career bear no relation to the history of the city; the only incident worth recording, being the disasters of the army in France, and the loss of Calais, which occa-

sioned the queen to borrow of the city a loan of £20,000 towards carrying on the war. The accession of Elizabeth was hailed with feelings of delight by the citizens, who received her in a very splendid manner, and presented her with a thousand marks in gold. The citizens were, the same year (1559), mustered in Greenwich Park before the queen. In 1561, a large portion of St. Paul's cathedral was consumed by fire, in consequence of the building being struck by lightning. Two years after, the plague broke out in the city, and, in the course of one year, swept off upwards of 20,000 persons. A short time afterwards, that distinguished man, Sir Thomas Gresham, proposed to his fellow-citizens to found a bourse for the merchants; for the circumstances connected with which, the reader is referred to his life. In 1569, the first lottery in England was drawn at the west door of St. Paul's church-yard. The events which followed were principally of a miscellaneous character, and relate to matters which have little interest to the general reader.

In the midst of rejoicings and festivities, the queen did not forget to urge upon the citizens the necessity of preparing for war; and, by virtue of her order to the Lord Mayor, the younger members of the community were trained in the art of war. In 1585, preparations were made in anticipation of the invasion of the Spaniards, and the city contributed 5000 men towards the defence of the country. In

December, 1586, the painful duty devolved upon the mayor of proclaiming the sentence of death on Mary, queen of Scots, who had been condemned for conspiring against Queen Elizabeth. At a later period of the Spanish invasion, the queen demanded of the city a contingent of 10,000 men, which were immediately raised by the different wards. They also fitted out sixteen large ships, and four pinnaces. Various supplies of men were afterwards contributed at different periods; and, on one occasion, the city raised and armed a body of 1000 men in the space of a single afternoon. On the breaking out of the revolt under the Earl of Essex, that unfortunate nobleman endeavoured to bring the citizens over to him; but finding no response, he grew desperate, was deserted by his followers, and ultimately taken prisoner at his own house, in the Strand. His tragic end, it is well known, had a powerful effect on the mind of Elizabeth, who did not long survive him. James I. came to the throne in 1603, and entered London in the customary state of splendour. He had not reigned many months before he applied to the city for a loan of £60,000, which was immediately granted. In 1606, James, after dining with the clothworkers' company, consented to accept the freedom of that company, which was then presented to him. In the same year, he applied to the city for a further loan of £60,000, which was granted. In consideration of these loans, he granted the city various charters in

confirmation of their ancient liberties. Next year the king offered the city the privilege of founding an English colony, in the province of Ulster, Ireland. The city accepted the offer, and raised a sum of £20,000 for the purposes of carrying out the enterprize. The increase of the population of the city about this time, led our over-cautious ancestors to dread the occurrence of a famine: the Lord Mayor, to obviate such a calamity, caused twelve new granaries, capable of holding 6000 quarters of corn, to be erected at Bridewell. In the year 1613, Sir Hugh Middleton completed his great work of supplying the city with water from the new river, at Ware, in Hertfordshire. Another great work, at this time, was the paving of Smithfield, which, in consequence of its great use as a cattle market, was rendered all but impassable. By a charter granted at this time, the right of meting coal, and receiving thereon a fee of 8d. per ton, was granted to the city. In 1617, many of the bishops applied to the king for liberty for the people to divert themselves on a Sunday; and the king, accordingly, sanctioned the "Book of Sports," but many of the incumbents refusing to read it in their churches, were suspended and imprisoned. In return for this, the Lord Mayor ordered the king's carriages to be stopped as they passed through the city, at the time of divine service. The mayor, however, afterwards became more submissive on receiving an order from the king himself. In 1620, the king de-

manded of the city the sum of £20,000 to assist his son-in-law, the Elector Palatine. The city thought the demand too exorbitant, but voted the king half the amount, and afterwards raised for the same purpose, a force of two thousand soldiers. Charles I. succeeded to the throne at an unfortunate period. The plague, from which London was seldom free, then raged within its walls, and carried off, within one year, more than thirty-five thousand persons. Almost the first public act of Charles, was a violation of the principles of the constitution. A war broke out with France, and the Parliament having refused to vote supplies, Charles dissolved it, and demanded of the city a loan of £100,000. This was refused, and he then demanded that twenty ships should be fitted out with provisions for three months. After some delay, these were granted. The king visited this refusal to advance the loan, by fine and imprisonment on many of the principal citizens. Notwithstanding the evil feeling thus generated against the king, he was a few years afterwards (1633), invited to a very splendid masquerade, by the barristers in the inns of court; the expense of which amounted to £21,000. In the following year, the celebrated impost of ship money, a tax raised by Charles without the consent of Parliament, was proposed, and the king sent a writ to the city calling upon them to prepare, and victual a certain number of ships. The common council im-

mediately petitioned the king against this demand. The king, however, persisted in raising the impost, and on account of their refusal to pay the sums demanded of them, many of the citizens were committed to prison. These and other arbitrary proceedings, enforced by the tyrannical Star Chamber, tended still further to widen the breach between Charles and his subjects. A prosecution was instituted, in 1639, against the city, for alleged abuses in Ulster; in consequence of which, the Star Chamber ordered the forfeiture of the Irish estates granted in the previous reign, and also amerced the city in a fine of £50,000. This penalty was remitted by the king; but the citizens were highly exasperated at such tyrannical proceedings. The Parliament passed resolutions condemning the conduct of the Star Chamber, and discharging the city from the judgment of that court. The arbitrary enactments of the monarch still continued, particularly towards the city; he applied for loans of money, and upon a refusal to advance them, imprisoned the refractory citizens. Matters went on in this manner for some time, the gulf between the monarch and the Parliament daily growing wider, till the dissatisfaction of the people manifested itself in open rebellion. The facts connected with the civil war belong more to the history of the nation than to that of any particular city, or even of the metropolis, though the part taken by London in the matter was far from unimportant.

The citizens maintained their allegiance to the king, notwithstanding his tyrannical proceedings, till the crisis of revolt came, and then they sided with the parliament. The result is but too well known. The unfortunate monarch, after a lengthened war with his subjects, was taken prisoner, and ultimately beheaded at Whitehall. The commonwealth being established, an act was passed for the exheredation of the royal line, and the abolition of the monarchy. This act Sir Abraham Reinardson the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen Adams, Langham, and Bance, refused to publish, and were in consequence committed to the Tower. Reinardson was also degraded from the mayoralty, and condemned to pay a fine of £2000, and further, to be imprisoned in the Tower for two months. Shortly after this, the Parliament applied to, and obtained from, the city, a loan of £120,000 for the use of the army in Ireland. The House of Commons was also sumptuously entertained by the city at Christ Church. The history of the city during the protectorate of Cromwell, and afterwards in the short reign of his son Richard, is not of a character to deserve notice. Oliver appears to have been on good terms with the citizens, and entertainments of a mutual kind were given by the protector and the citizens. When the restoration of the House of Stuart was proposed, the civic authorities wisely declined taking part with either party; and this preservation of strict neutrality

was highly advantageous to them. As matters, however, ripened for the restoration, they were less careful of adopting a decisive line of conduct; and, on the approach of Charles II., they unanimously declared in his favour. Their first act was to restore Richmond Park to the crown, which had been granted to the city some years before, by Cromwell. The two great events in the reign of this monarch, were those known as the "great plague," and the "great fire." The former, which had frequently committed such fearful ravages in the city, again broke out in May, 1665, and destroyed 68,596 persons. The sufferings of the people at this awful period, have been well described in the celebrated work of Defoe. The "great fire" broke out on Sept. 2, 1666, and continued to rage for three days, in which time it denuded 466 acres of land; of houses, amounting in number to 13,200; 90 churches and chapels, the cathedral of St. Paul's, Guildhall, the Royal Exchange, Custom House, and various other public buildings. The loss was estimated at £10,730,500; fortunately, only six persons lost their lives. These two fearful catastrophes were not lost upon the inhabitants of London. They were punishments for the neglect of the physical laws, and the citizens now began to perceive the folly of their ancestors, in building close and imperfectly ventilated streets, and in erecting their houses of such combustible materials. These lessons, terrible as they were, had

a good effect. Since that time, the city has been free alike from "great fires," and great "plagues." Charles, on the occurrence of the fire, issued an order, that no houses should be re-constructed till proper arrangements had been made with regard to the sanatory condition of the future city. The designs of Sir Christopher (then Dr.) Wren for rebuilding the city, were of that comprehensive character, both as regarded healthfulness and architectural uniformity, to have left nothing to be desired; but the obstinacy of the landowners and lessees of the old buildings was allowed to prevail, and this noble idea of a great city was abandoned. Sir John Evelyn also proposed an admirable plan for rebuilding the city, in which his remarks on the evils of burying-places in crowded cities are worthy of all praise; the causes before alluded to, however, compelled this scheme also to be abandoned. War having broke out with the Dutch, and Charles having applied the money voted for the national defences to his own private use, the coast remained unprotected, and the Dutch Admiral Dekuyter sailed up the Medway, and destroyed the fort of Sheerness, with several ships of war. The rebuilding of the city would appear to have been nearly completed in the year 1673.

In 1679, in consequence of an alleged plot to set fire to the city, all the Roman Catholics resident in London, were banished ten miles from

thence. Shortly afterwards, Lord Stafford was condemned to death for participation in this plot. The citizens, suspecting that the Duke of York was favourable to the Roman Catholic religion, convened a meeting to consider the propriety of opposing his right of succession to the crown; but the meeting was forbidden by the Privy Council. The dispute between the court and the city, led to some extraordinary proceedings. Sir John Moore, Lord Mayor in 1682, being favourable to the court party, insisted upon his right to nominate one of the sheriffs, knowing that the king had previously exerted himself to obtain the appointment of his own nominees; and even went so far as to choose a sheriff, and issue a precept for swearing him in. The citizens stoutly resisted this, and elected sheriffs of their own selection. The court party, by dint of the most tyrannical proceedings, were, however, successful; Alderman Pilkington, for an alleged libel on the Duke of York, was fined £100,000; and the court finding the citizens still contumacious, obtained a *quo warranto* to seize the city charter. The judges decided against the city; but, in such an ambiguous manner, as to prove they were afraid to come to a definitive verdict. The citizens were at last compelled to sue the king for pardon, which was granted on certain conditions. Soon after these tyrannical proceedings, the "merrie monarch" died, and the Duke of York succeeded him, under the title of James II.

His first act was to avenge the prosecution against the Roman Catholics, which he did by executing, in a barbarous manner, Alderman Cornish, who had taken an active part in detecting the Rye-house plot, even denying this unfortunate man time for his defence, by which his innocence would have been clearly shown. In the very same year, 1685, the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth was beheaded on Tower Hill.

In 1687, in consequence of the persecutions of the French Protestants, 13,500 emigrants of that persuasion settled in England. Notwithstanding the restoration of the city charter, the enmity against the king on the part of the city was so bitter, that on the landing of the Prince of Orange, who had been solicited to accept the crown, the lords met in Guildhall, and declared in favour of that prince. The result is well known; James, after a vain attempt to maintain his power, fled the kingdom, and the Prince of Orange was proclaimed under the title of William III. The city immediately granted him a loan of £200,000, of which, the Lord Mayor, Sir Samuel Dashwood, himself advanced £60,000. The king and his consort shortly afterwards dined in the city at Guildhall; and such is the immutability of law, the proceedings on the *quo warranto* were reversed by order of Parliament, and the city restored to all its ancient privileges.

It would appear that between the reigns of

Richard I. and Richard II., the city had paid for their privileges the sum of 34,000 marks, besides £20,000, some valuable presents of jewellery, and one fifteenth of their moveable property. The power of the city at this time (1690), may be judged of, from the fact, that there being some apprehension that the French would land on the coast, the citizens informed the king, that in addition to the trained bands, which consisted of 9000 men, they were ready to raise six regiments of foot, a large regiment of horse, and one thousand dragoons, and to maintain this force entirely for a month, or a longer period, if necessary. In 1692, on the 8th of September, the shock of an earthquake was felt in the city and parts adjacent, but did no particular damage. In 1693, another loan of £300,000 was granted to the queen in the absence of the king, who was conducting the war in the Netherlands.

The year 1694, disclosed an infamous system of bribery; which, being investigated by the House of Commons, it was proved that one thousand guineas had been demanded, and taken from the chamberlain of London by Sir John Trevor, the speaker, for forwarding the Orphan bill; and in consequence of which, he was expelled the house; other bribes had been also taken by different persons. On the death of the queen the city sent a letter of condolence to his majesty. In the year 1697, a measure of great utility to the

metropolis was carried into execution. Various places, to which, before the Reformation, the privilege of sanctuary was attached, and by the lapse of time so far degenerated from their original destination, as to become receptacles for unprincipled and lawless persons, who fled to them as places of refuge from justice and legal authority. The evils thus produced grew so enormous, as to demand the interference of the legislature; and an act of parliament was passed, by which all the following places of abused privilege were suppressed: viz., the Sanctuary in the Minories; those in the neighbourhood of Fleet-street, as Salisbury-court, Whitefriars, Ram-alley, and Mitre-court; Fulwood's-rents, in Holborn; and Baldwin's-gardens, in Gray's-inn-lane; the Savoy in the Strand; and Montague-close, Deadman's-place, the Clink, and the Mint, in Southwark. This last place, however, through the supineness of the magistracy, was suffered to reassume its former character, and that with increased profligacy; nor was it finally suppressed till the reign of George I. In 1700, party spirit was again active in circulating rumours to the effect, that the papists and other disaffected persons had secretly stirred up arms; in consequence of which, they were again banished the cities of London and Westminster.

On the proclamation of the Pretender, in the following year, the citizens voted an address to his majesty expressive of the indignity they felt at such

an act. On March 8, 1702, King William III. died, and Anne of Denmark, the daughter of James II., succeeded to the throne. An address was immediately presented to the queen, who afterwards dined with the Lord Mayor and corporation at Guildhall; and, after the dinner, conferred the order of knighthood on four of the principal citizens. Public thanksgivings and rejoicings followed on the receipt of the intelligence of the victories of Marlborough over the French. On the 26th Nov. 1703, the city was visited with the most fearful storm on record. The damage done to the houses in the city was incalculable; at sea twelve men-of-war were lost, with 1800 sailors, besides an immense number of merchants' ships; and, even in the Thames, from London Bridge to Limehouse, only four ships were able to ride out the storm. In consequence of the damage to houses, tiles rose from 21s. to £6 per 1000. The next year, the city entertained the Duke of Marlborough on his return from the Continent. The act of union between England and Scotland was completed in 1706, and led to a general thanksgiving at St. Paul's. The success of the French in Germany, in 1709, having driven twelve thousand emigrants to this country, a general collection was made, and more than £22,000 paid into the chamber of London for their relief. A very dangerous riot occurred soon afterwards, in consequence of a prejudice of the mob, urged on by some of the citizens;

the result of which was, the rebels demolished several Presbyterian chapels. The riot was only suppressed by the intervention of an armed force. Some years afterwards, the curious were gratified by seeing four chiefs of the Troquois Indians, who came on a visit to her majesty. In consequence of the efforts made by some person, in 1713, to support the claims of the Pretender, a sum of £5000 was offered for his apprehension. George I. having succeeded to the throne, on the death of Anne, was received into the city with every possible demonstration of loyal respect; and, shortly afterwards, dined with the mayor and corporation at Guildhall. The breaking out of the rebellion in Scotland, and its suppression, led the city to present various suitable addresses to the monarch. A remarkable phenomenon occurred in 1716, that of the river being so exhausted of water, as to allow persons to pass over its bed dry-shod, both above and below London Bridge. About the year 1719, the great South Sea scheme, or bubble, as is not inaptly termed, plunged thousands into misery. A scheme for paying off the National Debt, amounting at that time to about £31,000,000, was proposed by the South Sea Company. The directors proposed to take this debt; and, as a *quid pro quo*, to pay about £7,000,000 per annum into the exchequer. The scheme was ratified by a thoughtless parliament, and became law. The bait took; the funds rose rapidly, and the directors ordered books to be opened for

the subscription of £2,250,000, the £100 shares being issued at £300 or £200 premium. The shares subsequently rose to £300 per cent., and the whole commercial world ran mad upon the speculation. Books were opened for a further subscription of £4,000,000 which were sold at £200 per cent., the original £100 shares bearing a premium of £1,100. The bubble burst shortly afterwards—thousands of once wealthy families were involved in ruin. At the same time, many schemes were propounded with a similar attempt; some of which though scoffed at by that age, have since become profitable investments for the capitalists; amongst these were the idea of fire insurance, and the Greenland whale fisheries; good and bad, however, shared the same fate in the general panic that followed. It is curious to find schemes for "making butter from beech-trees," "curing the gout and stone," "making deal boards of saw-dust," alongside of life insurances; the improvement of manufactures, the erection of turnpikes, and the paving of London's streets. The capital involved in these enterprises would (if they had succeeded) have amounted to £300,000,000; but such was the gullibility of the age, that even the schemes "for an Arcadian colony," and "to learn wise men to cast nativities," were realised in shares bearing premiums of £200, £300, and £400 per cent.; conspiracies, said to emanate from the Papists, still continuing, a return was ordered of the various heroes within the

bills of mortality, which might be available in the event of a domestic war; and it appeared they amounted in number to about 20,000. In 1726, a daring attempt was made by some criminals, under sentence of death in Newgate, to seize the prison. The keepers were compelled to fire on the prisoners before they would submit. King George II. succeeded to the throne in 1727; but his reign was not marked by any extraordinary incident. Their majesties were witnesses, from a balcony in Cheapside, of the splendour of the Lord Mayor's Show. The next year presented a remarkable proof of the very imperfect condition of the police of the city: a deliberate design was formed to rob her Majesty in St. Paul's Church-yard, as she returned from the city. The thieves, however, were busily engaged in robbing Alderman Sir Gilbert Heathcote, at the time the queen passed, and she escaped their hands. In 1743, war was declared against France; and various addresses were presented to his majesty on that occasion by the city, and other corporate bodies. The intelligence of the rebellion, in 1745, and of the success of the movement, alarmed the citizens, who made every preparation in the event of an attack upon the city. So great was the enthusiasm of the age, that even the very lawyers formed themselves into a regiment under the command of Lord Chief Justice Willes. The Pretender's forces, however, were soon defeated; and the unfortunate noblemen Kilmarnock and Balmerino,

who had espoused his cause, were executed in Aug. 1746, on Tower-Hill. The needless bloody sacrifices consequent upon this rebellion, continued till the following year, when Lord Lovat was also executed on Tower-Hill; even so late as the year 1753, Dr. Cameron was executed at Tyburn, for being a partizan of the Pretender.

Having now brought the reader to the close of the reign of George II., at the middle of the last century, it may be as well to conclude the narrative here. In the course of this very brief summary of events, nothing like a history of the city has been attempted; for even the meanest abridgment of such a work would have been, in the present book, far too extensive a subject. The only object of the writer has been to show that connexion in the leading events of the history of the city, which would enable the reader to understand the position in which those eminent men, whose lives are chronicled in these pages, found society, and the impression which their energies produced upon it. To have carried the history to a later period, would have answered no good purpose. With the close of the rebellion in Scotland, terminated the romance of history, as far as the city is concerned; the subsequent progress of society has done much to arrest all direct political power from the city, and other large corporate towns. Centralization of power in the executive of the country, appears to be a necessary result of civilization; for, however the people

may have the power of willing, the execution of the acts willed, must remain with the executive; for this reason, the city has not, in modern times, taken that stern lead in deciding the history of the nation, which it was wont to do in more remote ages; its power of acting has been sensibly diminished year by year; but its power of willing, or in other words, the moral influence of a great and enlightened city, still remains, and may gather strength from day to day, from hour to hour, and even from moment to moment.

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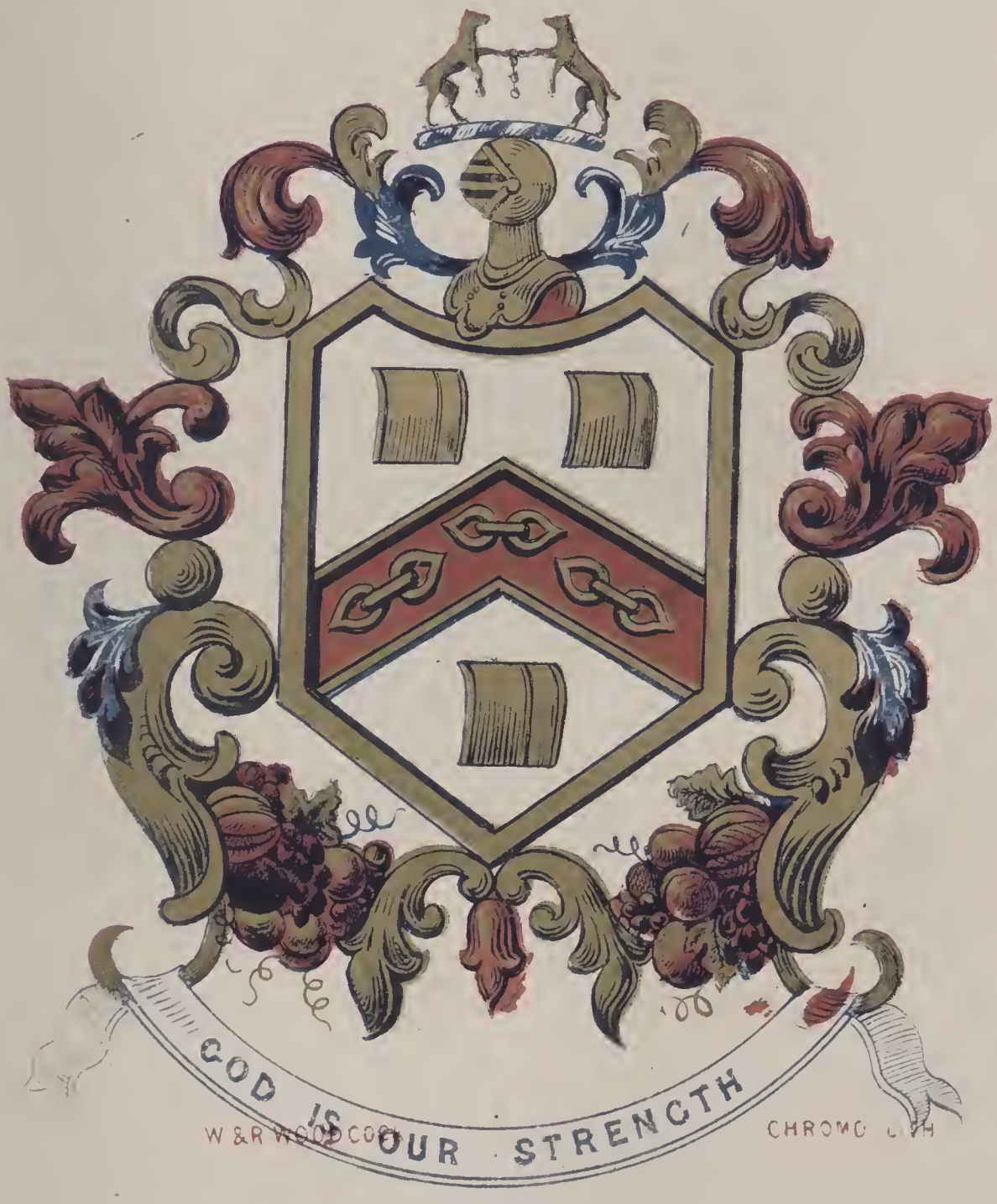

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LIVES

OF

ILLUSTRIOUS LORDS MAYORS

AND

ALDERMEN OF LONDON.

HENRY FITZ-ALWIN,

(FIRST LORD MAYOR OF LONDON.)

In presenting to our readers an account of Henry Fitz-Alwin, first Lord Mayor of London, it may not be out of place to give a short sketch of the institution of the office. It appears from ancient records, that the first City of London, which existed under the joint government of the Britons, Romans, and Saxons, was destroyed, and left desolate, by an incursion of the Danes. But Alfred, King of the West Saxons, subsequently defeated the Danes, and completely routed them; and having collected the inhabitants together from different parts, thoroughly repaired the city, and made his son-in-law Ethelred, Earl of Mercia, governor; at whose death the city and all other possessions of the Earl descended to King Edward, sirnamed the Elder, son of Alfred, who appointed *portgraves* or *portreves* to the government of the city. (The Saxon word *porte* denotes a town, and *gerefe* a guardian or keeper.)

Fabian, the historian, informs us, that these governors, together with the laws and customs which were then observed in the city, were duly registered in a book called the Doomsday Book, written in the Saxon tongue; but, in later days, the laws became changed, and the book became so defaced, as to be difficult to read or understand; so that it was thrown by and lost.

It appears, however, from records and registers conneeted with the ancient monastery of St. Alban's, that the office of portreve was one of high honour and estimation, and seeond only to the highest functionary of the ehureh. In these records, we are informed, that in the reign of King Edward, the last before the Conquest, *Wolfegare* was portgrave, as appears by the eharter of the same king, in these words :—

"Edward, King, greeteth Alfward, Bishop" (of London) "and Wolfegare my portgrave, and all the burgesses of London."

And in another charter as follows :—

"King Edward greeteth William, Bishop; and Sweetman my portgrave."

And in another, to the Abbey of Chertsey, as follows :—

"To William, Bishop; and Leofstane and Alffy, portgraves."

In the reign of William the Conqueror, William, Bishop of London, procured the king's charter of liberties for the said William, Bishop, and Godfrey, portgrave, in the Saxon tongue, and turned into English, thus :—

"William, King, greeteth William, Bishop, and Godfrey, portgrave, and all the burgesses within London (French and English.) And I grant that they be all their law worth, that they were in Edward's days the king. And I will that eaeh child be his father's heir. And I will not suffer that any man do you wrong : and God you keep."

In the reign of the Conqueror, the offiee of *provost* or ehief magistrate under the portgrave, seems to have sprung up, as appears from the following :—

"In the reign of the Conqueror, and of William Rufus, Godfrey de Magnaville was portgrave, and Richard de Par provost."

These portgraves are also in divers records ealled, *vicecomites*, viscounties, or sheriffs, as being under an earl. Some authors eall them *doomesmen*, *eldermen*, or judges of the king's eourt.

William Fitz-Stephen, denoting the eivie government in his time, hath these words :

"This eity, even as Rome is divided into wards. It hath yearly sheriffs instead of eonsuls ; it hath the dignity of sena-

tors and aldermen ; and according to the quality of laws, hath several courts and general assemblies upon appointed days."

Thus much for the antiquity of sheriffs and aldermen ; and next we shall speak of bailiffs and of mayors.

In the first year of King Richard I., the citizens of London obtained a charter, to be governed by two *bailiffs*, which bailiffs are in ancient deeds called sheriffs. And they also obtained a charter to have a mayor to be their principal governor and lieutenant of the city.

The names of the first bailiffs entering into their office at the feast of St. Michael, the Archangel (Anno Domini, 1189) were Henry Cornehill and Richard Reynere.

Their first *mayor* was Henry Fitz-Alwin, Draper, appointed by the said king. The office appears originally to have been conferred for life ; for he enjoyed the honour from the first year of Richard I. (anno 1190), until the 15th of King John (anno 1212) upwards of twenty-four years.

In 1208, however, the citizens obtained a charter to choose a mayor for themselves annually ; but, from motives of esteem, or some other cause, they did not avail themselves of this privilege till the death of Henry Fitz-Alwin, which took place in 1212, when he was succeeded by Roger Fitz-Alwin.

Henry Fitz-Alwin was buried in the parish church of St. Mary Bothaw, near London Stone.

SIR WILLIAM WALWORTH,

(LORD MAYOR).

Sir William Walworth, twice Lord Mayor of the City of London, was one of the most remarkable individuals of the age in which he lived. Of his birth or parentage, no particulars have descended to us, though the former may be placed with tolerable accuracy about the year 1320. The modern suburb of Walworth, in the parish of Newington, is claimed as the place

where he was born. He followed the business of a fishmonger, and eventually became one of the wealthiest fish-merchants in the City. From the great demand for fish in the times of Catholic superstition, fish-selling formed one of the chief trades of the metropolis. Long prior to Walworth's time the fishmongers were virtually united as a brotherhood, though the company, as it now exists, formed by the junction of the two Companies of Salt Fishmongers and Stock Fishmongers, was not instituted till the year 1536, when it was incorporated by Henry VIII., under the name of the "Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Fishmongers." The Salt Fishmongers had been first incorporated so early as 1433, the Stock Fishmongers not till 1509.

From the earliest period we find the Fishmongers involved in disputes resulting from their encroachment upon the liberties of their fellow-subjects.* Their stalls or standings were principally on Fish Street Hill; and many wealthy individuals of the craft dwelt upon the spot, whose names shine conspicuously in the annals of civic honour. According to the ancient statutes of this Company, no fishmonger was allowed to purchase fish beyond certain boundaries, viz. "St. Thomas's Chapel, on London-bridge, Baynard's Castle, and Jordan's Quay, near Billingsgate. No fish were to be bought from any boat, unless first brought to land; and no fishmonger was to buy or sell any fresh fish before the

* In 1290, in the reign of Edward I. they were fined 500 marks for being guilty of "fore-stalling;" and during the following century, so strong a prejudice had been excited against them, from charges of fraudulent dealing, that, in 1382, the parliament enacted that no fishmonger for the future should be admitted Mayor of the City; a prohibition, which was removed in the following year. So strong was the popular prejudice against these traders, that in the parliament alluded to, Nicholas Exton, speaker for the Fishmongers, "prayed the king to receive him and the Company under the immediate royal protection, lest they might receive corporeal hurt." The request originated from various street tumults, wherein the fishmongers were the objects of popular indignation and insult. There were, also, continual disputes between this Company and the Goldsmiths, in regard to precedence, so much so, indeed, that the Lord Mayor and Aldermen were obliged to repel the mutinous from the City by proclamation.

conclusion of mass at the chapel upon the Bridge; but salt fish might be sold after *prime*."*

The history of London in the age of which we speak, partakes so much of that of the nation generally, that to enter into even a slight detail of the life of any individual whose actions formed an important feature in its affairs, we must necessarily extend our limits beyond what our subject might appear more immediately to prescribe.

The period in which Walworth lived, and in the transactions of which, he bore no undistinguished part, was remarkable for the splendour of the achievements gained by the English over enemies abroad. War was the only pursuit considered glorious by the nation, and to supply the continual drain of resources which such a state of things necessarily demanded, extortion and persecution on the part of those intrusted with the national executive, were unhesitatingly had recourse to. The people of London, while they regarded with pride and honour the lustre added to their country's name by such splendid victories as that of "Neville Cross," over the Scots at Durham, and those over the French at Cressy and Poictiers, were still, not unfre-

* At this period Queenhithe was the principal landing place for fish and other cargoes; and hence the reason of the locality of the fishmongers, and other merchants. In 1224, Henry III. directed the officers of the Tower to arrest the ships of the Cinque Ports which arrived in the river, and to compel them to bring to the Queen's Hythe only; and two years afterwards the same officers were ordered to seize all fish offered for sale at any other place. It 1345, ships and vessels landing at Downgate (Dowgate) were ordered to pay the same customs as if they rode at Queen Hithe. A century afterwards it was ordered that if two vessels came up at the same time, one should go to Billingsgate; if three, two were to land their cargoes at the Queen's Hithe, the other at Billingsgate, but always "the more" at Queen Hithe. At length, however, Billingsgate asserted its pre-eminence. Situated East of the bridge, it was naturally more convenient for large vessels with topmasts than the other port. Fabyan, who wrote at the close of the fifteenth century, says that the customs of Queen Hithe had so fallen off in his time as to be worth but £15 a-year. A century later Stow speaks of it as being almost deserted. He confirms the superiority of Billingsgate, which, he says, "is now the largest watergate on the river of Thames, and therefore the most frequented."

quently amongst the first to complain of the results which such military prowess generally entailed.

Yet, although we often find the inhabitants of the metropolis standing forth in the van of their countrymen, in their endeavours to overthrow the load of taxes with which they were encumbered, in the reign of Edward the Third, in no age does history record an example of similar devotion to a monarch on the part of his subjects. Courteous, affable, and eloquent; of a free deportment and agreeable conversation, Edward the Third had the art of commanding the affections of his subjects, without seeming to solicit popularity. He was a constitutional knight-errant; and his example diffused the spirit of chivalry through the whole nation. In imitation of the monarch who delighted in tilts and tournaments, every individual betook himself to the exercise of arms, every breast glowed with emulation, every heart panted with the thirst of glory; and, when he took the field, there was not a soldier in his army who did not serve from sentiment, and fight for reputation.*

Not less beloved by the people of London in this age, than their king, was his son, the Prince of Wales, surnamed the Black Prince, whose bravery was such that all Europe considered him the most invincible hero of his time. He never fought a

* In connection with the mention of the chivalric sentiments of Edward III., and which forms, indeed, no unimportant feature of the age we are now describing, it might be here noticed that, in the year 1349, having adorned his favourite castle of Windsor with new fortifications, and built the chapel which he dedicated to the Virgin Mary, St. George, and St. Edward the Confessor, the king founded a military order of St. George, the patron of England. A garter of blue velvet, inscribed "*Honi soit qui mal y pense*," was the symbol of union chosen for this noble fraternity, which, from hence, was styled the *Order* of the Garter, consisting of the King of England as sovereign, and twenty-five knights-companions. On the Festival of St. George, in this year, they walked bare-headed in procession, clad in gowns of russet, and mantles of fine blue woollen cloth, with the rest of the habit of the Order, to St. George's Chapel, where they heard mass said by William Edendon, Bishop of Winchester, prelate of the order; and after divine service, returned to a sumptuous entertainment. This solemnity concluded with military sports of tilts and tournaments, at which David Bruce, King of Scotland, with other prisoners of quality, both Scottish and French, were permitted to assist.

battle that he did not gain ; nor undertook an enterprise in which he did not succeed. The soldiers loved him to a degree of enthusiasm, and always fought under his banner with an assurance of victory which no odds could lessen, and no accidents disappoint.*

It was on the 8th day of May, 1357, that Prince Edward, after his victory of Poictiers, entered London, from Sandwich, in Kent, (at which place he had landed,) bearing in his captive train John, King of France, and the flower of the French and German chivalry. He was met in Southwark by the Mayor (John Stody) and Aldermen in their formalities, with 1000 citizens on horseback. The royal prisoner rode through the streets, in a magnificent habit, mounted on a fine white courser, and attended by the Prince of Wales, on a little black horse with ordinary trappings. The inhabitants vied with each other in displaying plate, tapestry, furniture, and arms offensive and defensive, in their shops, windows and balconies. The streets were lined with an infinite concourse of people; and the cavalcade lasted from three in the morning till noon. When they reached Westminster Hall, where the king of England sat upon a throne, in expectation of their coming, he rose up when the captive monarch approached, and received him with all that courteous civility which might have been expected from a Prince of his character. He next embraced his son with great tenderness, telling him, that the victory did not please him so much as the modesty with which he bore his good fortune. The King of France was entertained in the most sumptuous manner, and provided with an apartment in Westminster palace, till the

* It is worthy of remark here, that the Black Prince was the first of the royal house of England who adopted the armorial bearings known as those of the Prince of Wales. At the battle of Cressy, in 1346, John, King of Bohemia, an ally of the King of France, having perished, in the heat of conflict, by the hand of the Black Prince, the latter denuded the fallen monarch of his helmet, in which he wore three ostrich feathers. These, which the Bohemian king also wore for the device of his crest, with the motto, "*Ich Dien*," (which, in the German language, signifies "I serve," in token of his capacity as a volunteer) were appropriated to himself by the English prince; and the device has been adopted by all succeeding Princes of Wales.

palace of the Savoy, in the Strand, could be fitted up for his reception.* He remained a prisoner in England for the period of three years, when he was liberated upon conclusion of a truce between the two countries, and payment of a ransom of 600,000 crowns of gold.†

In the year 1371, we find William Walworth, serving the office of Sheriff, and in 1374, for the first time, elected to the office of Lord Mayor. The year is principally remarkable for a splendid tournament in Smithfield, given by King Edward, in honour of his mistress Alice Perrers; at which the chief magistrate, and other civic authorities were present.‡

* That antique-looking edifice, with beautiful windows and curious little tower, known at the present day as the Savoy church, is the chapel of the ancient palace, and the last remnant of its architectural glories. The founder of the Savoy was Peter de Savoy, uncle to Eleanor, the queen of Henry III. This Peter, coming over to England on a visit to his niece, was created Earl of Savoy and Richmond, and solemnly knighted in Westminster Abbey. The date of 1245 is ascribed to the original erection. From the Earl of Savoy the palace passed to the Friars of Mountjoy; and then again returned into the possession of the family, by Eleanor's purchasing it for her son, Edmund, afterwards Earl of Lancaster. His son, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, was beheaded during the reign of Edward II.: the Savoy then became the property of his brother, Henry, who enlarged it, and made it so magnificent in 1328, that there was no mansion in the realm to be compared with it in beauty and stateliness. After the decease of her only son, the first Duke of Lancaster, in 1351, one of the daughters married the famous John of Gaunt, who became, in consequence, the possessor of the Savoy. It was his property, therefore, at the period alluded to in the text.

† Under the date 1364, we find in "Stowe's Chronicles" the following passage:—"The 9th day of April, died King John of France, at the Savoy, beside Westminster; his corpse was honourably conveyed to St. Denis, in France." It appears from this, and the evidence of cotemporary historians, that the French king had returned, a voluntary exile, to London, where he was received with open arms by Edward, and took up his final residence in the Savoy.

‡ This woman had been a domestic of Edward's late virtuous queen Philippa, and married to William de Windsor, at one time Lieutenant of Ireland. The king was so infatuated by the personal charms of this idol, that he resigned himself wholly to her direction. He was so weak as to convey to her the jewels of the queen; she had the presumption to preside in the public courts of justice; and she created and displaced ministers at her pleasure. The royal authority grew into contempt; and the whole kingdom complained of mismanagement and oppression.

In the year 1375, the English lost their darling Prince of Wales, who, after having been emaciated by a lingering distemper, died at the palace of Westminster, in the forty-sixth year of his age, to the unutterable sorrow of his father, and the deep-felt regret of the whole nation which had flattered itself with the prospect of uninterrupted happiness under the reign of such an accomplished sovereign. In the space of two years, King Edward himself died, leaving his crown to his grandson, Richard the Second, a boy only ten years old. His death took place at Sheen, in Surrey, where, since the death of his son, he had sunk into unmanly indolence, in the company of his paramour. "His constitution," says Smollett, "had been impaired by the fatigues of his youth, so that he began to feel the infirmities of old age before they approach in the common course of nature; and now he was siezed with a malignant fever, attended with eruptions, that soon put a period to his life. When his distemper became so violent that no hope of his recovery remained, all his attendants forsook him, as a bankrupt no longer able to requite their services. The ungrateful Alice, waiting till she saw him in the agonies of death, was so inhuman as to strip him of his rings and jewels, and leave him without one domestic to close his eyes, and do the last offices to his breathless corpse. In this deplorable condition, bereft of comfort and assistance, the mighty Edward lay expiring, when a priest, not quite so savage as the rest of his domesties, approached his bed, and finding him still breathing, began to administer some spiritual consolation to his soul. Edward had not yet lost all perception: what then must have been his reflection, when he found himself thus abandoned and forlorn in the last moments of his life? He was just able to express a deep sense of sorrow and contrition for the errors of his conduct, and died pronouncing the name of Jesus."

On the very day of Edward's death, Aldermen John Philpot and William Walworth, with the principal citizens of London, deputed by the Common Council, repaired to Kingston-upon-Thames, where the young King then resided, and implored his favour and protection to the City of London, expressing their

concern, at his being removed so far from the capital, and assuring him that they would venture their lives and fortunes for his service. They concluded their address with a petition that he would take up his residence in the City, and put a stop to the prosecutions that had been set on foot by the Duke of Lancaster.* Their request was granted, and all differences compromised by commissioners sent to London for that purpose; and Richard, the very next day, made a magnificent entry into London, attended by the Dukes of Lancaster and Brittany, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Winchester, the Earls of Marche and Warwick, with many other noblemen.

On the 16th day of July, 1377, the young King was crowned at Westminster. On the eve of the coronation Richard rode with a pompous cavalcade through the streets of London, from the Tower to his palace at Westminster. Next day he walked from thence in procession to the Abbey Church at Westminster, where he went through the ceremony of unction and coronation. The King having on this occasion made a large addition to his council, the Duke of Lancaster, who for several years had engrossed the

* This Duke of Lancaster was the individual known in history as the famous John of Gaunt, or Ghent, (from the Flemish town of that name, over which the English held superiority.) He was the fourth son of Edward III., and therefore brother of the Black Prince. He married Blanche, daughter and cousin of Henry, Duke of Lancaster (owner of the Savoy palace) to which title and property he succeeded. His second wife was Constance, eldest daughter of Pedro the Cruel, King of Castile, in whose right he assumed the arms and title of that crown; after her death he married Catherine of Swinsford, who had already borne to him several illegitimate children. At the period mentioned in the text, the Duke of Lancaster had all the power of England in his hands, and might, in imitation of several princes who had already ascended the English throne, have set aside the lineal heir without much difficulty, had he been really infected with that ambition of reigning, which had been fixed as an imputation upon his character. This charge he owed to the resentment of the monks and clergy, who hated him as the protector of the Reformer Wickliffe, who was at this time disseminating his religious doctrines. He had, moreover, acquired a great number of enemies by the pride, arrogance, and irascibility of his temper; and he was particularly detested by the citizens of London, for many instances of contempt which he had evinced towards them.

whole administration, either disliking his new associates, or thinking it prudent to resign an office which might expose him further to the envy of his cotemporaries and the odium of the people, declined bearing any share in the ministry and retired for a short space to his castle of Kenilworth.

In the first Parliament held after the accession of Richard, to concert measures for opposing the progress of the French, we find William Walworth and John Philpot, "merchants in London," chosen by the House of Commons as trustees of a large sum of money voted for the defence of the kingdom. Having accepted the trust to which they were thus elected, our Aldermen considered that, in order to be allowed properly to perform their functions, all the evil councillors of the late King, who still retained their position around the throne, should be removed, and their posts bestowed upon men of good morals and integrity. Several officers were displaced in consequence of this petition; but they did not succeed in another, requesting that a Parliament should be convened once a-year to regulate the affairs of the nation. Immediately after this session broke up, the Duke of Lancaster, on pretence of taking measures for the defence of the kingdom, demanded an order to withdraw the money from the hands of the two trustees; and his desire being complied with, he engaged in the service nine large ships, with which he attacked a fleet of French merchantmen, and took fourteen vessels laden with wine. At the same time Alderman Philpot, with the concurrence of Walworth, equipped a small armament at his own expense; and, sailing in quest of one Mercer, a Scottish mariner, who had greatly interrupted the navigation on the northern coasts of England, engaged and took him, together with fifteen Spanish ships which, had entered into his service. This exploit, though universally applauded by the people, gave umbrage to the Government; and Philpot was summoned before the Council Board, where he received a reprimand for having undertaken such an expedition contrary to law; but, in respect of his character, and the service he had done the nation, he was questioned no further on the subject.

In the following year, 1378, we find Walworth taking part in

another affair of national importance. Parliament, much to the mortification of the City of London, convened on the thirteenth day of October, at Gloucester.* Richard Lescrop, steward of the household, opened the session with a speech representing the danger to which the nation was exposed from the enemies that surrounded it, and the considerable supplies necessary to rescue Calais, Brest, Bordeaux, and Bayonne. The Commons suspecting that part of the late subsidies had been embezzled, or converted to other uses than those for which they were granted, insisted upon knowing in what manner those sums had been expended. Lescrop answered in the King's name, that, although no account of subsidies or other grants had ever been made to the Commons, William Walworth, in conjunction with some members of the Council, should lay before them an account of the receipts and disbursements. A copy of the enrolment of last subsidy having been granted them, they took exceptions to forty-six thousand pounds expended upon fortresses abroad, which they alleged ought to have been maintained out of the King's own revenue and patrimonial estate. After these deliberations, the Parliament imposed a considerable tax on wool and leather, besides an additional duty upon salt for one year; but this was in the next session revoked, and in lieu of it, a poll-tax upon all classes, indiscriminately, throughout the kingdom.

Alderman Philpot, having been elected to the Mayoralty in 1578, on his retirement from office in the following year, was succeeded by Alderman Hadley. In the subsequent year Hadley was in turn succeeded by Walworth, who was now for the second time "Lord Mayor of London." On the occasion of his inauguration a show and pageant of unrivalled splendour took place.

The poll-tax enacted by Parliament in the preceding year, having only begun to be felt during the Mayoralty of Walworth, consi-

* In early times, Parliaments used to be held in many other places besides London or Westminster; but, from the latter part of the fourteenth century, Westminster has been the place at which they have commonly assembled: it is reckoned that, since the commencement of the reign of Richard II. in 1377, the whole number held elsewhere has been only fourteen.

derable disaffection, as might have been expected, was immediately displayed by the populace. The "Villeins," or bondsmen, belonging to the Church as well as to lay lords, had of late become wealthy, and, for some time past had made various efforts to recover that freedom to which they thought they had a natural title. They purchased exemplifications in the King's Court, out of Doomsday Book, of the manors and towns to which they belonged, exempting them from all manner of servitude; and would not suffer distress to be taken either by the servants of their lords, or the officers of justice; they engaged in associations to stand by one another, and even threatened their landlords with death and desolation.* In a recent Parliament, a statute had been enacted declaring these exemplifications of no validity, and ordering inquiry to be made after such malcontents, that they might be tried and brought to condign punishment. This law for some time suppressed their disaffection; though the poll-tax, felt as it was more keenly by the lower tenants, served to nourish their discontents. This disaffection, however, did not arise even amongst the poor so much from the imposition of the tax itself, as from the manner in which it was levied by the ignorant and brutal individuals to whom the collection of it was intrusted. The age, at which it was ordained that individuals should be included within the terms of the enactment, was fifteen years; and the amount of the impost, fourpence per head. From this tax females were not exempted; the only individuals, indeed, who enjoyed any immunity being those who subsisted on charity. In the carrying out this enactment, so far did insolence and brutality carry the collectors, that, in order to discover whether young women were of the prescribed age, they proceeded to acts of the grossest indelicacy.

* The state of the lower order of society in England at this period was similar to that of the inferior class of subjects (serfs) in Russia at the present day. The "villeins," or bondsmen, did not reside in the house of the lord, but they entirely depended on his caprice, and he sold them as he did the animals, with the field where they lived, and which they cultivated. It was not till the reign of Henry VII., about the close of the fifteenth century, that the right of the subject was in the slightest degree recognised.

This rude and scandalous experiment having been attempted towards a daughter of Wat Hilliard (denominated Tyler from his occupation, which was that of a tile and brick maker) an inhabitant of the village of Dartford, in Kent, so aroused the paternal feelings of that individual, that seizing a deadly weapon he knocked out the brains of the collector on the spot. Nor did his revenge end here. Quickly arousing the people to a sense of the wrongs which were being used towards them, he called upon them in the name of God to free themselves from the tyranny under which they had so long groaned. Nor did he appeal in vain. Within a few hours the populace of the whole surrounding district were in arms. Carrying pitchforks and all the iron weapons upon which they could lay their hands, they scoured the country in every direction, large accessions of adherents meeting them in their onward progress, and every hour their appearance becoming more terrible. On their arrival at Maidstone, thirty miles from the place where the insurrection had at first broken out, the insurgents immediately threw open the doors of the public prison, and released the inmates. Among these was one John Ball, a priest, who had been excommunicated the pale of the Church, and been confined in the county gaol for sedition. Possessing a factious and daring spirit, this man was no sooner at liberty than he assumed the office of chaplain to his deliverers, and as an incitement to them to proceed in their present work, exhorted them by religious discourse. Taking for his text a proverb then in vogue—

"When Adam *delved*, and Eve *span*,
Who was then a gentleman?"

he laid it down that all men were equal by nature; and that, as children of Adam, no man was inferior to another; that if God had predestined any man to slavery, he would have declared who should be lords and who servants; and that servitude which is acquired by unjust power, is confirmed by as unjust laws. He would, therefore, advise them to go to the King, and demand liberty; and if they could not obtain it by fair means, to have recourse to that which would inevitably effect their purpose.

Animated by this harangue, "To arms! To arms!" was the general shout; and a council of war being held, Wat Tyler was by unanimous consent chosen leader. Brutus of old, after the endurance of much personal wrong, did not rouse himself to avenge injured female innocence, and rid Rome of its oppressors, with more seemingly virtuous resolution, than did Wat Tyler when he assumed the command of his disaffected countrymen on the plains of Kent. He had, he said, seen the rights of men trampled on and treated with contempt—he had groaned under taxation, the proceeds of which, instead of contributing to the maintenance of good order and government in the realm, went to the support of patrician riot and debauchery—he had beheld many evils perpetrated, and many wrongs inflicted,—but till brutal violence had been offered to his own daughter, the spirit within his bosom had not been roused. But it was then aroused; and the man who, under more humane circumstances, might have been a happy and virtuous subject, was converted into a daring and malignant rebel.

Vested with the dignity of leader, Wat forthwith administered the following oath to his adherents:—"To be true to King Richard and the Commons of England; never to receive a king whose name was John, (in allusion to John Duke of Lancaster,) to persuade their neighbours to join in the common cause; and never to submit to the payment of a larger tax than a fifteenth part."

Leaving Maidstone, the insurgents marched to Blackheath, where they received a large accession to their numbers from the western parts of Essex. The whole force by this time amounted to about a hundred thousand men, composed chiefly of country labourers and the poorer portion of the community. Up to this stage of the proceedings, according to Tyler himself, the main objects of him and his followers were the rectifying of public abuse, and the abolition of evil laws and customs, especially that of "villeinage" (by which they as human beings were regarded as mere part and parcel of the soil), but what with the vile exhortations of Ball, the priest (who told them that till the whole of the nobility and all lawyers were destroyed, their efforts would be to

no purpose), and the desperate character of many who now began to join them, we must henceforth regard them rather as a lawless mob, than as a people endeavouring to rid themselves of tyranny and oppression.

Encamped upon Blackheath, the rebels now presented an army, both in numbers and spirit, well calculated to inspire awe in the hearts of those against whom their intentions were directed. Foreseeing the impending danger, and the critical position of affairs, the King despatched messengers to Blackheath to know the reason of the commotion. These messengers were desired in return to acquaint the King that they were assembled to confer with him about matters of the greatest importance, and therefore wished that he would come to them without delay. This peremptory request was debated in council. Some were of opinion that the presence of the King would be the only means of quelling the disturbance; while others, (among whom were Simon Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Lord Chancellor, and Sir Robert Hales, prior of the church of St. John of Jerusalem, at Clerkenwell, and Lord High Treasurer,) most strenuously opposed such a proposition, as totally inconsistent with the safety of the royal person; the more especially as he was at this time only fifteen years of age. The latter advice having at length been taken, word was conveyed to the insurgents to that effect. Inflamed to madness by this peremptory refusal of their request, the rebels forthwith devoted the whole Cabinet Council to destruction. Leaving Blackheath, they pursued their march to London. They entered Southwark on the 10th of June, and breaking open the King's Bench and Marshalsea Prisons, released the prisoners, who immediately joined them; and searching out the houses of lawyers, jurors, and other obnoxious parties, they instantly razed them to the ground. Separating his army into two divisions, Tyler despatched that portion of it composed of Essex men to Lambeth, where they burnt the Archiepiscopal Palace, with its costly furniture, together with all the books, registry, and writings relating to Chancery affairs:—heading the other division himself, he destroyed a large number of brothels, situated along the banks of the

river, which were chiefly kept by Flemish women, and maintained by the nobles and gentry of the City.

In this dreadful posture of affairs, Walworth caused the gate of the bridge to be shut and fortified against the rebels; but after repeated threats on the part of the latter to destroy the Borough of Southwark, and seeing that the whole of the lower orders of the people flocked to the insurgent standard, our civic functionary capitulated, and admitted them on the 13th day of June which was that of *Corpus Christi*. Being now joined by large numbers of the City rabble, they hastened westward to the "Savoy," in the Strand, the palace of the Duke of Lancaster. This, the most magnificent edifice in the kingdom, they set on fire; and in order that no wreck or vestige of its existence might remain, it was commanded that none should dare to appropriate to his own use anything belonging to the palace under pain of death. This general order having been in one instance disobeyed, the offender, who had secured to himself a piece of plate, was immediately committed to the flames; and general proclamation was made that they came not to enrich themselves by plunder, but to do justice to an injured people by taking revenge upon their cruel and inveterate foes. It is handed down by tradition, that thirty-two of the insurgents, during the affray having found their way into the Duke's cellar, and forgetting where they were, so long and mirthfully caroused, that the rafters having fallen in, they perished in the flames. The mob did not leave the scene of their revenge till the palace, with all its plate, jewels and furniture, had been completely consumed.

The next object of their fury was the Temple, which they likewise destroyed by fire, together with all the records of Chancery, and books, and papers belonging to the students. The several other Inns of Court shared a similar fate.

It being now necessary, for the more complete accomplishment of their designs, and in order that the work of devastation might be going on in several places at the same time, to separate their force, they accordingly divided themselves into three bodies. One division repaired to Sir Robert Hales's priory of St. John of

Jerusalem, at Clerkenwell.* This having burnt, they next betook themselves to Highbury Manor, also possessed by Sir Robert Hales, which they likewise sacked. The second division encamped on Tower Hill, and notwithstanding that the fortress was garrisoned by six hundred armed men, and as many archers, they effected an entrance, and committed great havoc. It is said that the King, who at this time resided within the Tower, being commanded by the third division of the insurgents, consisting of the Essex men, who had encamped themselves at Mile End, to come immediately, unarmed and unattended, to a conference with them, thought it prudent to comply with their injunctions; and that in his absence those on the Hill entered into the Tower without opposition. Whether or not, however, the insurgents made their way so easily into the fortress, cannot be determined; yet, certain it is that they did effect an entrance, and dragging therefrom Simon Sudbury, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Sir Robert Hales, prior of St. John's, beheaded them on the Hill.† The Archbishop in his last moments is said to have used many entreaties in order to dissuade them

* This priory, in which resided the Knights of the half-military, half religious order of St. John of Jerusalem, was founded about the year 1100, by Jordan Briset, a baron of the kingdom, and Muriel, his wife. This was the period of the first crusade, when Godfrey of Bouillon had driven the infidels from the Holy Land, and was elected the first christian King of Jerusalem. But it was some forty years later that the servants of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem became a military order of monks, the first body of men united by religious vows, who wielded the temporal sword against the enemies of the faith. The Crusade fanaticism having ceased, the knights of the Order resident in London are said to have addicted themselves to all manner of tyranny and licensiousness, and on this account incurred the hatred of the common people, resulting in the manner described in the text. The gate, known as St. John's Gate, is the only existing remain of this significant priory.

† Archbishop Sudbury was a man who made no ordinary figure in the historical events of the fourteenth century. It was before him and several delegates from the Pope, in his palace of Lambeth, that the most illustrious of our early reformers, Wickliffe, was summoned, in 1378, to defend his tenets. On this occasion, the London citizens and the mob forced themselves into the archbishop's chapel, and spoke in the Reformer's behalf, to the great terror of the delegates. The latter, however, would undoubtedly have passed a severe sentence on the "heretic," had they not

from the shedding of innocent blood, but in vain. His body, babarously mangled, was left exposed to view at the place of execution, for the space of twenty-four hours. His head was next day placed upon a pole, and fixed on London Bridge.*

All kinds of licentiousness, according to Stowe, were perpetrated by the rebels in the Tower. "Many of them," says he, "went into the King's privy chamber, and played the wantons, in sitting, lying, and sporting them upon the King's bed." The Princess of Wales, the King's mother, was at the time in the Tower, and placed completely at their mercy. She was allowed, to depart, however, at the price of a few rude kisses. Still the horror of the scene completely overpowered her, and she was taken away by her ladies in a boat senseless, and rowed across to the other side of the Thames, and placed for refuge in a house in Carter's Lane.

During the progress of the executions of Sudbury and Hales, the King was treating with the insurgents at Mile End. The

been completely confounded by a message from the King's mother forbidding them to proceed to extremities. Wickliffe delivered in writing an elaborate statement of his views, but which was so little satisfactory to the delegates, that they commanded him to repeat no more such "obnoxious propositions," either in the schools or his sermons. The practice of burning heretics did not come into vogue till the beginning of the fifteenth century.

* At various periods of its history, the collection of traitor's heads at London bridge would have made a respectable craniological museum. The first of the London bridge *traitors* of whom there is any record, was the Scottish patriot and hero, William Wallace, whose resistance to a foreign yoke Edward I. could never subdue, till he had made his true heart be plucked from his bosom, and his head fixed up aloft here, to be gazed at in comparative tranquility by many who would have stood short space to scan his living visage wherever they might have encountered it. Amongst the other extraordinary heads, so to speak, which were elevated at different times subsequently, may be mentioned, besides those of Hales and Sudbury, those of the aged Earl of Northumberland, father of the gallant Hotspur Percy, in 1408, Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and his friend Sir Thomas More, in 1535. Heads continued to be exposed here, principally those of seminary priests, executed for violation of the statute prohibiting their entry into the kingdom, throughout the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., and down even to the breaking out of the civil war in that of Charles I. After the Restoration, too, the heads of some of the regicides were set up on London bridge.

proposals made to him there, and which may be regarded as an exposition of the grievances under which the disaffected laboured, were—"First: That all men should, from thenceforth, be free from servitude or bondage, so that there should be no longer any bondsmen or villeins. Second: That there should be a general pardon to all men, of all manner of actions and insurrections, treasons, felonies, transgressions and extortions. Third: That all men should from thenceforward be enfranchised to buy and sell in every county, city, borough, fair, market, and other place, within the realm of England. And fourth: That no acre of land, held in bondage or service, should be held for more than fourpence; and, if it had been held for less in former times, it should not thereafter be enhanced."

The King, while these propositions were being made to him, listened with patience; when seeing from their determined resolution, that it would be impolitic to oppose them, he yielded his consent. He was then permitted to return to the City, and this portion of the rebels immediately dispersed.

In the meantime, Wat Tyler and his band were committing the most awful outrages throughout London and Westminster. Murder was added to rapine, and, on the 15th of June, 1381, perhaps more people fell by the hand of ruthless violence than can be well calculated. Many of the most distinguished citizens were slaughtered, and those who were spared were only such as professed a compulsory adherence to the dictates of the rebels. Among those who perished on that memorable day was Mr. Richard Lyons, a well known jeweller and goldsmith, and previously one of the Sheriffs of the City.* But the fury of the

* This individual had been peculiarly obnoxious to the lower orders at this time for various acts of oppression. By the Parliament of 1375, he was fined in twenty thousand marks, and sentenced to be confined in the Marshalsea Prison, until he should pay the amount, for having, in the office which he held, as farmer of the King's customs, been guilty of usury, as well as of smuggling wool and different sorts of merchandise, to other ports besides Calais, through which, being held in superiority by the English, it was required that all goods exported from England to foreign countries should pass. Amongst other persons fined at the same time for similar offences, were the King's mistress, Alice Perrers, and Lord Latimer, King's chamberlain.

populace was chiefly directed against foreign merchants, particularly the Flemish, who were regarded as the monopolists of the national trade. Driven by the cruelties of the insurgents, these unfortunate creatures betook themselves for refuge to any church into which they could find ingress, imagining that perhaps the murderers would not pollute the house of God: but in vain. Dragged from their place of shelter, if they could not pronounce, says Stowe, the words "bread and cheese," without a foreign accent, which in that of Flanders would be "*brot* and *cawse*," they were slaughtered in the streets without further ceremony.*

Among other acts of the rebels was the breaking open of the Fleet and Newgate Prisons and releasing the prisoners. They also made proclamation for the decapitation of all lawyers and persons connected with the Exchequer, and even all such as were capable of writing a letter.

After the King had returned to the City, and reported to his mother, and those of his council who had escaped the sword of the rebels, the result of his conference at Mile End, it was resolved, in their present critical position, to try the effect of a similar concession towards those commanded by the ringleader.

Wat Tyler with his men were at this moment posted in West Smithfield, but although three proposals of capitulation, each more conceding than the preceding, were submitted to him, he rejected them all with disdain. Emboldened by his success, or convinced

* At this period the foreign trade of England was almost entirely in the hands of aliens, and, in consequence, there were large numbers of foreign merchants in London. They are described in an Act passed in 1377, as not only trading in the goods imported by themselves from abroad, but also as buying in the ports where they were established, and elsewhere, at their free will, the various commodities which were the produce of this realm, and selling them again at their pleasure within the country as freely as any of the King's subjects. Thames Street, in those days, must have been thronged with foreigners from all the countries which had intercourse with England; the Hanse Towns, Venice, Genoa, and other parts. Galley Quay, the name of which is still preserved, was the place where the galleys of Italy and other places discharged their cargoes; the merchants of Bordeaux (traders in wine) had their storehouses in the Vintry —hence the name.

that royal concessions were only made to be broken, he at once and disdainfully rejected all overtures at pacification.

Still ignorant of Tyler's ultimate designs, and anxious to try every means to put a stop to further bloodshed, the King sent Sir John Newton, one of his knights, to invite him to a conference with him in Smithfield, where they might discuss that article in the treaty about which Wat was so solicitous, viz., that he should have a commission to behead all lawyers, and all others who were either learned in the law, or held any connection therewith. Sir John, having executed his master's commission, upon taking his leave of the insurgent advised him to be at the spot appointed as soon as possible; to which the latter replied, "If you are in so much haste, go tell your master I will come when I think proper." Notwithstanding, however, this remark, Wat slowly repaired to the place at the head of his army; and on catching a glimpse of the King, setting spurs to his steed, he pushed boldly from his companions, and halted not till he arrived by the side of the monarch.

"Sire, King; seest thou all yonder people?" were the terms in which he first accosted Richard.

"Yea, truly," quoth the King, "wherefore say'st thou so?"

"Because" said Wat, "they be all at my command, and have sworn to me truth and fealty, to do all that I would have them."

"In good sooth," replied the monarch. "I believe it well."

"Then," said the insurgent, "believest thou, King, that these people, and as many more as be in London at my command, will depart from thee thus, without having thy letters?"

"No," was the reply of Richard, "ye shall have them, they be ordained for you, and shall be delivered to every one of them."

At these words, Wat observing that Sir John Newton, who rode on horseback carrying the King's sword, halted not at a respectful distance from his majesty, observed, "That it would better become him to be on foot in his master's presence." To this remark the knight made no reply further than that he thought he did no harm; which having nettled Wat somewhat, the insurgent drew his dagger menacingly, and called him "traitor."

"I am no traitor," said Sir John, as he drew his dagger.

"Give me that sword," demanded Wat.

"No," replied the knight; "it is the King's sword, of which thou art not worthy; neither durst thou ask it of me had we been by ourselves."

"Traitor! I repeat, give me that sword, or by Jesu I'll have thy life before I eat;" and the rebel, in an agony of passion, was running upon the knight, when Richard, to prevent consequences, caused Sir John to dismount.

Wat being thus pacified, the King requested him to state on what terms he would disband his followers, and put an end to the insurrection. To this the rebel replied, that besides the general manumission which the King proposed to grant to bondsmen, he was determined to have a commission to put to death all lawyers; he insisted also that all the ancient laws of the kingdom should be abolished, and that all "forests, parks, and warrens" should be made free and common to all; so that the poor as well as the rich might have the liberty to hunt, fish, and fowl, in any place they thought proper.

While the King retired to a short distance to deliberate with his attendants on these proposals, Wat was stalking up and down with all the dignity of conscious authority. Ever and anon, as he would cast his eye over to the place where his enemies were standing, his countenance would be lit up with a grin of defiance.

"The behaviour of that vile and impudent traitor," said one of those in conclave with the monarch, who was watching the movements of the rebel; "the behaviour of that vile and impudent traitor is as intolerable as it is dangerous. I would have thee to dispatch him."

"And so should we," were the words with which the rest of the attendants all at once backed the proposal.

A moment's deliberation, and the doom of Wat was sealed.

The King, nodding to William Walworth, the Mayor, who stood by, said, "This is within thy jurisdiction, Walworth—execute thou justice on this rebel."—

No sooner commanded than done. The Mayor, wheeling round

his horse, rode instantly to the side of Wat, who was somewhat off his guard, and uplifting his sword brought it down with such tremendous force upon his head, that the rebel fell senseless at his feet. John Sandwich and a few others, who followed the Mayor, completed the work of destruction by running him through the body.

The leader thus fallen, a shout was now raised among the rebels, "Our captain is murdered. Let us revenge his death," they cried, and drawing their bows, they prepared to rush furiously upon their foes.

The King at this juncture foreseeing the danger he and his followers were exposed to, with a prudence and boldness superior to his age, rode bravely up to the van of the insurgents.

"What! my friends," said he, addressing them, "will you kill your King? Be not troubled at the loss of your leader—I will be your leader, and grant what you desire."

These words seemed to have a magical effect upon the rioters, for, changing their resolution, they marched under his conduct into St. George's Fields. In the meantime Walworth and Alderman Philpot hastened to the City, and with an amazing celerity raised and armed a thousand citizens. These they put under the command of Sir Robert Knolles, a brave and experienced officer, who immediately led them to his majesty's assistance.* Observing this accession to the force of their enemies, the rebels, struck with a panic, no longer hesitated about what they should do. Throwing down their arms they implored the King for mercy, which, though contrary to the advice of his council, Richard not only granted, but presented them with a charter of manumission similar to that which he had granted to those of Essex.

Thus ended the "insurrection of Wat Tyler," perhaps the most dangerous and remarkable outbreak which ever occurred in

* Sir Robert Knolles was the most distinguished warrior of his age. He had shared in all the military glories of the reign of Edward III., and died in Kent, twenty-five years subsequent to the above date, in 1406, after having lived in private many years.

any country. It affords a warning to all rulers, against long tampering with the affections of a people by the iron hand of oppression. The popular spirit once aroused, the offending instrument must be withdrawn: loyalty may be brought back to its allegiance by gentle remonstrance, but will only be lashed into opposition by violence and invective.

A fresh body of mutineers from Hertfordshire were in full march to join Tyler, when they received news of his death, and the dispersion of their confederates. Nevertheless, they still kept together, and extorted letters of manumission from the monastery of St. Alban's, and other lords to whom they owed vassalage, some of whom they murdered. The peasants of Suffolk and Norfolk also, thinking they had as good a title to liberty as those of Kent and Essex, took to their arms, and struck off the head of Sir John Cavendish, Lord Chief Justice of England, and committed other dreadful outrages. They never reached London, however, for before they had set out on their journey to join Tyler, they were defeated, and many of them put to the sword by an armed force under the command of Henry Spencer, the Bishop of Norwich.

Notwithstanding these repeated overthrows, the insurgents of Essex had the presumption to send deputies to the King for a confirmation of their charter: but by this time Richard was in a condition to treat with them according to his own choice. Immediately after the dispersion of Tyler's adherents, he had assembled his military tenants, and summoned his faithful subjects to take arms for the security of his person; and, in three days, he mustered forty thousand men on Blackheath. On the 30th day of June, he published a proclamation, requiring all tenants to do their accustomed services; and, sending a detachment of troops into the heart of Kent, to maintain the peace of that county, marched in person against the rebels of Essex, who, being defeated in two successive engagements at Billericay and Sudbury, submitted, and sued for mercy. During this expedition, the King, being at Chelmsford, issued letters patent, revoking the charter he had granted to the insurgents of Kent

and Essex, alleging that they had forfeited all title to such indulgence by their subsequent rebellion.

Amongst the insurgents taken on this occasion were the notorious Jack Straw, the leader of the Essex rebels, and Ball, the priest, who, being arrested and carried before Walworth, as Mayor, were condemned to be executed. Before their death Straw uttered the following confession as to the designs meditated by the rebels from the first period of their rising:—

"That when they assembled on Blackheath, and sent a message to the King desiring him to come to them, they had resolved to have killed all his attendants, and carried him along with them wheresoever they went, in order that the populace might have greater encouragement to join their standard; and that when, by help of the King's presence, sufficient numbers had been gathered from the several counties in the country, they were to have murdered all those who would not be favourable to their designs:— First: The nobility and gentry, and then the King, with all the clergy, regular and secular, with the exception only of the mendicant friars, who were considered sufficient for the performance of Divine Worship throughout the kingdom. These objects completed, they were to enact such laws, as they judged proper for popular government. Wat Tyler was to have been made king of Kent, and each of the other principal ringleaders appointed to the different counties respectively; each county forming a distinct kingdom. And on the very evening of that day on which Wat was killed, the whole rabble of London was to rise, sack and burn the City."

The above, Straw reiterated several times at the place of execution, and called God to witness to its truth.

Peace being now restored, the Archbishop of Canterbury's head was taken down from the Bridge; and the heads of Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, and some others, placed in its stead.

The King, as a reward for this great national deliverance, which he attributed to the prompt measures of the City authorities, conferred the honour of knighthood upon William Walworth, the

Mayor, and Aldermen John Philpot, Nicholas Brembre and Robert Laund. His majesty also granted to the first a fee farm of one hundred pounds *per annum;* and to the other three, farms of forty pounds *per annum* each.

In the Hall of Fishmongers there stands within a niche, a full-sized statue of Walworth, carved in wood, and painted in proper colours. The gallant knight is represented in the dress of his time, his right hand grasping a real dagger, reported to be the identical weapon with which he struck Wat Tyler from his horse in Smithfield. Below the niche are these lines :—

> "Brave Walworth, Knight, Lord Mayor, yat slew
> Rebellious Tyler in his alarmes,
> The King, therefore, did give in lieu,
> The dagger to the Cytyes Arms."

It is generally considered that the dagger which appears in the armorial bearings of the City of London, was introduced as a token of remembrance of the great assistance rendered on this occasion to the King by the City, and the overthrow of the leader of the insurgents by the Mayor. Several historians, however, dispute the dagger owing its origin to this circumstance, from the fact of its being found on the armorial bearings of the City, prior to this date.

During the remainder of the term of Sir William Walworth's Mayoralty, he had the honour of conducting to London, Anne, Princess of Bohemia and sister to the Emperor Winceslaus, on the occasion of her marriage with King Richard. She landed at Dover, and was met at Blackheath by the Mayor and Aldermen, and many of the principal citizens, richly escorted. In the City she was magnificently entertained, whence she proceeded in triumph to Westminster.

Walworth, resided within the parish of St. Michael's, Crooked Lane; and in the year 1380, by a licence from Richard II. he

founded a college in connection with the rectory church adjoining the market of Eastcheap. This church had been built in the year 1317, by John Lovekin, the then Mayor of the City, also a resident of the parish.

Sir William Walworth enlarged Lovekin's church with a choir and side aisles, and added eight different chantries to it; and by a further addition to its annual revenue, converted it into a college, consisting of a master and nine priests to celebrate Divine Worship, "for the good state of the King, himself, and Margaret his wife, whilst living, and their souls when dead, together with those of the said chantries, and the souls of all benefactors and faithful deceased.'"

It is worthy of mention that this edifice was immediately contiguous to the Boar's Head Tavern, the ancient abode of "mine hostess Dame Quickly,"—the region of wit, wine, and wassail,—the resort of the madcap Prince of Wales, and his boon companions, old Jack Falstaff, Poins, Pistol, Bardolph, Peto, Gadshill, and Nym. The earliest notice of this place occurs in the testament of William Warden, who, in the reign of Richard the Second, gave his "tenement called the *Boar's Head*, Eastcheap, to a college of priests or chaplains, founded by Sir William Walworth, Lord Mayor, in Crooked Lane." Whether at that time it was a tavern, or a cook's residence, it does not appear; but very early in the next reign, if any confidence can be reposed in the locality of Shakspeare's scenes, it became the resort of old Jack Falstaff and Prince Hal; but subsequently it was converted into a residence for the priests, to whose college it had been devised. Goldsmith, in his "Reverie at the Boar's Head Tavern," forgetting the destruction of the former building in the Great Fire, speaks of the tavern existing in his time, as the identical place which Falstaff frequented.

Sir William died in the year 1381, soon after the expiration of his term of office, and was buried in the parish church of St. Michael's.

The Company of Fishmongers still preserve his funeral pall, which is curiously embroidered with gold. They have likewise

an interesting plan of the splendid Show which was exhibited at the time of his inauguration as Mayor, in 1380.*

* A tolerable idea of the appearance and manners of the metropolis prior to and about the close of the fourteenth century, may be gathered from the works of several old authors. London is thus described by the old chronicler Fitzstephen who died in 1191:—"The wall of the city is high and great, continued with seven gates, which are made double, and on the north distinguished with turrets by spaces: likewise on the south, London hath been enclosed by walls and towers, but the large river of Thames, well stored with fish, and in which the tide ebbs and flows, by continuance of time, hath washed, worn away, and cast down these walls." There is another passage in Fitzstephen, which takes us, as do most of his descriptions, into the every day life of the ancient Londoners, their schools, their feasting, and their sports:—"In Easter holidays they fight battles on the water. A shield is hanged on a pole, fixed in the midst of the stream; a boat is prepared without oars, to be carried by violence of the water, and in the forepart thereof standeth a young man, ready to give charge upon the shield with his lance. If so be, he break his lance against the shield, and doth not fall, he is thought to have performed a worthy deed. If so be, without breaking his lance, he runneth strongly against the shield, down he falleth into the water, for the boat is violently forced with the tide; but on each side of the shield ride two boats, furnished with two young men, which receive him that falleth as soon as they may. Upon the bridge, wharfs, and houses by the river side, stand great numbers to see and laugh thereat." This sport, which may still be seen amongst the watermen of the Seine, and of the Rhine, was the delight of the bold youth of London in the days of Henry II. In the reign of Richard II., the period treated of in the text, the features of the city might be thus described:—A portion of London bridge was moveable, which enabled vessels of burden to pass up the river to unload at Queenhithe, and other wharfs. Stairs (called bridges) and watergates studded the shores of both cities. Palaces arose, such as the Savoy, where the principal nobles kept almost regal state. The Courts of Law were fixed at Westminster, and thither the citizens and strangers from the country, daily resorted, preferring the easy highway of the Thames to the almost impassable road that led from Westminster to the village of Charing, and onward to London.

SIR RICHARD WHITTINGTON.

(LORD MAYOR.)

Sir Richard Whittington, a contemporary of Sir William Walworth, was not less celebrated than that worthy in his capacities of citizen and chief magistrate of London. If the name of Walworth is associated, to his immortal renown, with the slaying of the rebellious Tyler in Smithfield, that of the other is equally famous in connection with

> A catte ye most puissant
> In killynge rattes and mice,—

and which has supplied the theme of one of the most playful nursery tales to be found in any language.

Richard Whittington, three times Lord Mayor of London, is said to have been born in the village of Taunton-Dean, in Somersetshire, somewhere about the year 1330. According to the pleasant story just alluded to, and which, with all the exaggerations of its gilded legends, is supposed to be not altogether the offspring of fiction, his parentage was humble: his parents dying while he was yet young, the orphan was befriended by an old woman in the village, who, though poor, continued to act towards him the part of the father and mother whom he had lost. The death of this benefactress having taken place while he was yet a lad, Dick, having accidentally heard that the streets of London were paved with gold and silver, set out on foot for the metropolis, and, after a long and tedious journey, arrived at the place of his destination—

> Give me a pin to stick in my thumb,
> And I'll away to London town—
> London town is a bonny place
> All covered over with gold and lace:—

—so said the old ballad.

Regarded as a whole, the popular story of Richard Whittington and his Cat, may be considered as finely inculcating upon the

youthful mind the principles of integrity and perseverance. It was written at a period when the apprentices of London, overstepping the controul of their masters, not unfrequently by their riotous and dissipated conduct, made the streets of the metropolis the scene of riot and confusion. The tale, as it at present stands, belongs to the age of Elizabeth, though there can be little doubt but that its burden was familiarly current from the time of the individual whose praises it so finely celebrates. It was admirably adapted for the purpose for which it seems to have been intended; and as a romance, curiously contrived to convey a moral and lasting impression, is superior to many productions of a later age.

"Dick walked about the streets till he grew so hungry and tired, and so disappointed at finding nothing but dirt instead of gold, that he sat down on a door-step and fairly cried himself to sleep. He was all night in the streets, and when morning came, was glad to beg a few halfpence to keep him from starving, While thus employed, a kind-hearted man asked him if he was willing to work; he was overjoyed at the offer, and was taken to some hay-fields and worked and lived merrily while the employment lasted. At the close of the haymaking season, poor Dick was as bad off as ever, and being nearly starved again, he sat himself down on the step of the door of a large house in Cornhill, which happened to belong to a rich merchant named Fitzwarren. Late at night, while poor Dick was crying fit to break his heart, Mr. Fitzwarren came home, and seeing a ragged little boy at the door, asked him what was the matter: poor Dick sobbed out his misfortunes, and the merchant asked him if he was willing to earn his living. Dick told him he would work with all his heart, but that he knew nobody and was most faint for want of food. Upon hearing this the kind merchant ordered him to be taken into the house, and a good supper given to him, and to be kept to do any dirty work required by the cook."

The story then proceeds to show how that there are no tyrants like your petty ones; and how that menials are, for the most part, to those below them, greater disciplinarians than their masters. It turns upon an incident of gallantry, evincing the

capriciousness of the taste of woman, and demonstrating that to gain her hand it is not necessary in all cases to have recourse to deceit and coxcombry.

"Dick Whittington could now have lived happily enough if it had not been for the ill-temper of the cook, who was finding fault and scolding him from morning till night; besides, she was so fond of basting that she would very often baste poor Dick with the ladle. At last her ill-usage of him was told to Miss Alice, Mr. Fitzwarren's daughter, who told the cook she ought to be ashamed of using the poor boy so, and said she would have her turned away if she did not treat him better for the future. The footman, an elderly, kind-hearted man, was very good to the poor boy, and sometimes gave him a halfpenny to buy gingerbread. One morning Miss Alice was going out for a walk, and the footman happening to be out of the way, Dick (who had got a good suit of clothes from his kind master) was told to walk behind her. As they went along, Miss Alice took out her purse to give a poor woman some money, and in so doing dropped it. Dick quickly picked it up and gave it her, making a respectful bow. One day Miss's parrot escaped and flew into a high tree: none of the servants would venture after it, but Dick threw off his coat, and climbing the tree soon brought the favourite to his delighted young mistress, who liked him ever after.

"Dick's flock bed stood in a garret, which was so overrun with rats and mice that he could seldom get a good night's rest on account of them. One day a visitor gave him a penny for cleaning his shoes, and next day Dick saw a girl with a cat under her arm; he offered his penny for it, which was gladly accepted, and Dick's cat soon drove away all the rats and mice. Dick's master having a ship about to sail, offered his servants a chance of good luck by sending out anything they chose to make a profit on: they accordingly all sent something except poor Dick, who declared he possessed nothing in the world but his cat; this, then, his master insisted upon his sending, so the poor fellow was soon as much tormented with mice and rats as ever. The ill-tempered cook began to use him more cruelly than ever, always making

game of him for sending his cat to sea. At last poor Dick could bear this ill-usage no longer; and so, packing up his bits of things, set out very early in the morning of Allhallow's day, which is the first of November; he walked as far as Holloway, and there sat down upon a stone, and began to think what he should do. While he was thus meditating, Bow bells began to ring, and he fancied they said to him,—

'Turn again Whittington,
Lord Mayor of London.'

'Lord Mayor of London!' said he to himself, 'why I would put up with anything to be Lord Mayor of London. Well, I will go back,' and he did so, where, luckily his absence had not been noticed.

"The ship in due time arrived on the coast of Barbary, and the cargo was soon sold to a good account: the captain sent presents to the king of the country, who was much pleased, and invited the captain and his chief mate to the palace. Here they were placed on rich sofas, with the king and queen at the head of the table, which was covered with a grand entertainment; but they had scarcely sat down, when a vast number of rats and mice rushed in, and began to devour all the eatables they could find. The captain was astonished, and asked the king if he was usually annoyed in that manner. 'Oh, yes!' said his Majesty, 'and I would give half the riches of my kingdom to get rid of the vermin.' The captain immediately thought of poor Dick's cat, and told the king he had a creature on board that would destroy them all. The king was overjoyed at the news, and puss was immediately sent for, and did ample justice to the captain's recommendation by quickly destroying numbers of the unwelcome intruders. The king and queen were so pleased with the actions of puss that they offered a considerable quantity of gold for her, which was gladly accepted on account of poor Dick; he soon after took leave of the king and queen, and set sail for London, where, after a happy voyage, he arrived safe. On the next morning the captain waited on Mr. Fitzwarren, accompanied by the mate, and several sailors carrying great lumps of gold, which

had been paid for the cargo, and also Dick's rich present for the cat: at this sight the merchant was much pleased; the cargo had produced much more than he expected, and the adventure of the cat and the quantity of gold sent for it, delighted the good merchant, and he immediately sent for Dick, who was busy scouring some kettles. When he came, Mr. Fitzwarren ordered a chair for him and bade him sit down, and told him of his good fortune, and wished him a long life to enjoy it. Poor Dick could scarcely believe all this, but he was soon convinced by the kind-hearted merchant. Dick (now Mr. Whittington) made a very handsome present to the captain, another to the mate, and to each of the sailors; he rewarded his good friend the footman, and gave something to each of his fellow servants, not forgetting even the ill-natured cook. When Mr. Whittington was dressed as became his altered fortunes, Miss Alice thought she had never seen a young man she liked so well, and he also ventured to speak his mind to her, so that no young people could be more happy than they. Mr. Fitzwarren soon perceived their love for each other, and he highly approved of it, so that after a while he gave his consent to their union. Mr. Whittington now applied himself to business, and had great success; he sent out ships to the coast of Barbary, which returned well laden with gold, and in a few years he became one of the richest merchants in all the world. He lived in great splendour, and was elected Lord Mayor of London, and the procession was more splendid than ever was seen before or since, and the feast contained such profusion of delicacies, with wines of delicious flavour, and conducted with such decorum that the guests only regretted that it did not last their lifetimes.

"Mr. Fitzwarren lived to see his son-in-law become the greatest man of the age, and died happy, much beloved and regretted. Whittington and Alice were extremely fond of each other, and in a few years were surrounded by their little ones; he was several times Lord Mayor, and the last time he entertained King Henry V., in a truly magnificent style, and the King was so pleased with his loyalty and goodness of heart, that he knighted him.

"Many happy years Whittington lived, and with his wife and children was universally beloved; no poor person was sent from his door without relief, and his public charity was munificent. Old age came upon him and still he was happy. Alice first left this world for a better, and Sir Richard Whittington did not long survive, but lived to see his children following his own steps, and died leaving behind him a pattern of virtue and piety, shewing the success of exertion with perseverance under difficulties."

Now, the reader may just receive as gospel as much of the story respecting Whittington and his Cat, as his own good sense and sagacity will warrant. There are historians of the present day, before whom—

> All charms fly
> At the mere touch of their philosophy.
> Such men would clip an angel's wing,
> Conquer all mysteries by rule and line;
> Empty the haunted air, the gnomed mine,
> Unweave the rainbow,

and there are readers, too, of somewhat the same character. Yet, albeit there have been no cats of the present day whose deeds have been so extraordinary as those performed by the puss of the once famous Lord Mayor of London, and although, indeed, it might be difficult to attribute to a member of the feline species the full amount of merit accorded in the olden nursery tale, we are not for this reason to reject the existence of its master as a fable unworthy the attention of either the Lords Mayors, Aldermen, or citizens of modern times. That there was a Richard Whittington, a member of the Mercer's Company, chosen three times at different periods, to fill the civic chair of the greatest city in the world—a man possessed of enormous wealth, acquired by the exertion of his own talents; who added to the power with which wealth and station always endow their possessor, the principle of benevolence to the poor in a remarkable degree—whose pageants eclipsed in the pomp of their ceremonial, all that had ever been witnessed before on the eventful day which ushers the civic monarch into office; and the splendour and sumptuousness of whose entertainments in the Guildhall were such, that the

King, with his courtiers and nobles felt ashamed of their own poverty, when they beheld the costly profusion of a merchant citizen—is a well authenticated record in the annals of London.

The first particular mention of Whittington in connection with public affairs, is in the year 1377, on occasion of a collision between the city and the Parliament. Although at peace for the time being with France, Spain, and Scotland, the terms between England and these countries were not sufficiently friendly to allay, in the minds of the administration, all chance of invasion. With the view, therefore, of providing against such a contingency, Parliament granted a considerable subsidy, by way of poll-tax, which was even extended to all the Clergy except the mendicant Friars: but as the necessities of the court would not admit of a delay, until this aid could be collected, the ministers demanded a boon of four thousand pounds from the city of London, which was refused. This refusal was resented in such a manner by the Duke of Lancaster and the ministry, that Adam Staple, the Lord Mayor, was removed from office, and Richard Whittington appointed as his successor. The Londoners, by no means favourites at any time with the Duke, were still less so when they saw the power taken out of their hands so coolly; and although Whittington was in every way worthy to fill the situation in which he had been placed, the mayoralty of Staple had not as yet expired. Nor were their rising feelings in the least controlled when they heard it stated that the Duke had advised the King to abolish the existing constitution of the city altogether, and reduce it under the authority of the Lord Marshal. This individual, at that time Lord Percy, by his behaviour, seemed also to confirm the report; for he ordered a person to be arrested and imprisoned in his own house, though it stood within the liberties of London. This outrage, added to their former resentment, incensed the populace to such a degree of fury, that a riot ensued. They plundered and destroyed the house of the Lord Marshal, and would have sacrificed him to their revenge, had they found him in his own dwelling. Luckily for him, he happened to dine that day with the Duke of Lancaster, at the house of a foreign

merchant in a different part of the city. Disappointed in this part of their expectations, the populace proceeded to the palace of the Savoy, belonging to the regent, which they immediately stripped of all its rich furniture, after having murdered a priest, who ventured to blame their proceedings. Their intention was to have relieved Sir Peter de la Mere, who had been imprisoned for having spoken in the late Parliament with great freedom of the infamous practices of Alice Perrers, and also William of Wickham, Bishop of Winchester, who had been incarcerated on equally frivolous pretences; but, finding neither, they hung up the arms of the Duke reversed; and would have committed many more terrible outrages, had not they been pacified by the Bishop of London, whose person they revered.* Lancaster and Percy hastened to Kennington, to advise with the Princess of Wales, the widow of the Black Prince; who, being very popular in the city, sent thither four knights of her household to expostulate with the rioters, and represent the iniquity and ill-consequence of their proceedings. They immediately desisted, in obedience to her commands, but demanded the knights to tell the Duke of Lancaster they expected the Bishop of Winchester and Sir Peter de la Mere should be tried according to the laws of their country. The magistracy then sent a deputation to assure King Edward that they had used their utmost endeavours to prevent this disturbance. The King received them graciously, and admitted of their excuse; but the duke was so incensed at the presumption of the populace, and the injury he had sustained in his effects, that he had not only exacted a submission from the chief returns, but also made a clean sweep off of the Mayor and Aldermen, and filled their places with his own creatures.

* Lord Fitzwalter, a standard-bearer of the city, joined the citizens on this occasion, and instigated them to the means of self defence which they threatened to adopt in so summary a manner. To reverse the escutcheon of the Duke of Lancaster was the most severe demonstration of displeasure which the populace could evince, as it denoted him what they considered him to be—a traitor. The "Savoy" only survived its fate for the space of four years, when it was completely destroyed by the rebels under Wat Tyler.

It does not appear that Whittington acted in the capacity of chief magistrate beyond a very short period in the present year, if, indeed, he did at all; for his name is first found in the list of Lords Mayors under the year 1397, exactly twenty years afterwards. In the latter year, as a further proof of the respect in which he was held by his fellow-citizens, he was chosen to represent them in Parliament.

On the accession of the subject of our notice to the civic chair, great hopes were entertained by the citizens that he would continue to sustain the lustre with which its possession had already begun to be invested. Nor were they disappointed, for no Lord Mayor before ever served the office with more zeal, and satisfaction to all parties.

For several years previously, while fulfilling the duties of his station as Alderman of the Ward of Vintry, he had been recommended to the notice of his fellow-citizens, by the active part which he had taken in every popular measure. In 1389, Smithfield, which had so lately been the scene of rebel tumult, was honoured by a martial tournament on the Sunday after Michaelmas, and the subject of our notice, with his fellow-magistrates, superintended the festivities. The event had been proclaimed in all the principal courts of Europe, and many foreigners of distinguished rank flocked to the scene of the mimic battle-sports. On the day appointed, a pompous cavalcade of sixty ladies set out from the Tower, all richly dressed, and mounted on fine horses. "Those who came in the king's party," says Fabian, "had their armour and apparel garnished with white harts that had crowns of gold about their necks. Twenty-four, thus apparelled, led the horses of the same number of ladies by chains of gold. The jousts continued four days, in the presence of the king, the queen, and the whole court, his majesty himself giving proofs of his skill and dexterity. During the whole time, open house was kept at the king's expense, at the Bishop of London's Palace, for the entertainment of all persons of distinction."

In 1392, two years after the event just described, we find Whittington, in concert with most of the principal merchants of

London, engaged in a contest with the Crown, which had well nigh accomplished the destruction of the liberties of the city:— A journeyman baker, belonging to the city, having quarrelled with one of the servants of the Bishop of Salisbury, in St. Dunstan's Church, Fleet Street, an affray took place, in which the populace espoused the part of the citizen. The King, however, still smarting from the refusal of the Corporation to advance him a loan of an extraordinary amount which he had demanded but a few months before, made the affair in St. Dunstan's the plea for venting the full extent of his displeasure.

Richard, having conferred with his council, came to a resolution "that it was not only expedient, but very requisite, that the insolent pride of those presumptuous Londoners should be speedily repressed:" accordingly, the Mayor and Sheriffs were degraded from their office, the government of the city delivered to a custos; the citizens fined three thousand marks; their liberties seized; seventeen persons appointed Aldermen during the royal pleasure; and the King and the nobility not only withdrew to York, but removed with them from Westminster the Courts of Justice. Submission, however, and payment of the fine, occasioned the restoration of nearly all the city liberties; and the King, returning to London, was met at Sheen, or Richmond Heath, by four hundred citizens on horseback, dressed in a rich uniform, with the Recorder at their head, who made a speech, in which he humbly begged pardon for their past offences, and earnestly entreated his majesty to honour the Chamber of London with his presence, to which he consenting, they attended him to St. George's Church, in Southwark, where he was received by a solemn procession of the Clergy, and five hundred boys in surplices, with the Bishop of London at their head. At London Bridge he was presented with a fine horse, adorned with trappings of gold brocade, and his queen with a fine pad, accoutered with very noble furniture. The city never was more richly embellished than on this occasion, for the inhabitants of every rank strove to outvie each other in honour of the reconciliation with their sovereign; the streets were lined with the city com-

panies in their formalities; the houses hung with rich silks and tapestry; and the conduits, all the while, ran with a variety of wines. At the Standard, in Cheapside, a magnificent pageant was erected, on which was placed a boy in white, to represent an angel, who, upon the king's approach, presented him with wine in a gold cup, and placed on his head a crown of gold, adorned with a variety of pearls and precious stones, as well as another on the head of the queen. At St. Paul's the King made an offering, and was thence conducted, with the same solemnity, by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, to the Palace at Westminster, where, the next day, they made his majesty a present of two silver basons gilt, with a thousand nobles of gold in each; curious pictures of the Trinity, valued at eight hundred pounds; and several other valuable presents as well to him as to the queen. But after all they were obliged to pay an additional fine of ten thousand pounds before he would restore them the right of choosing their own magistrates—an action which not only destroyed their affection for the prince, who oppressed them with such rigor and injustice, but probably occasioned them at another period to receive the Duke of Lancaster with open gates.

Queen Anne having died, in 1396 the king, and his new royal consort, Isabella, were met by the citizens upon their coming from France, and were conducted with extraordinary magnificence through the city. But, two years after, the Londoners fell once more under the royal displeasure. Petitioning to have their taxes taken off, and against entering into a treaty with the French King about the delivering up of Calais, Richard was so exasperated against them that he obliged many of the richest of the citizens to sign and seal blank papers sent them by the ministry, who afterwards filled them up at pleasure with such sums as were likely to drain them effectually. The interest and intercession alone, we are told, of Bishop Robert Braybroke, and of Roger Walden, Archbishop of Canterbury, saved them from other marks of the king's displeasure.

The year following the expiration of Whittington's first mayoralty, was pregnant with great events to London and England

generally. John, Duke of Lancaster, died, and was succeeded in his title and estate by his son the Duke of Hereford, against whom the King cherished a deadly enmity. By the death of his uncle, King Richard, thinking himself freed from every restraint, he plunged into all manner of effeminate debauchery, and profligate profusion. The northern counties became now ruined by the incursions of the Scots, whom Richard had not spirit to repel: and the native Irish made great progress in wresting their recent possessions from the hands of the English. No care was taken to protect the trade of the nation—the government was despised abroad and insulted at home; and universal dissatisfaction prevailed against the King and his ministry. The people naturally turned their eyes upon the Duke of Lancaster, as the only person from whom they could hope redress. He was a Prince distinguished for his great talents, and, unlike his father, beloved by the English in general, and stimulated by injuries against Richard, whose person and society they now despised. The King, having gone over to Ireland to check a rebellion amongst the people of that country, the Duke of Lancaster, (who at that time resided in France,) sent over some trusty emissaries to make his friends acquainted with his intention, that they might be prepared to receive him at his landing. He next set out himself with the Archbishop of Canterbury and a retinue of about four-score persons. He at length landed at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, where he was joined by the Lords Willoughby, De Roos, D'Arcy, and Beaumont. His cause was next espoused by the Duke of Northumberland, the Earl of Westmoreland, and others; and at the head of sixty thousand men he marched to London, where he was received by the Mayor (Thomas Knolles), Aldermen and citizens, with all the marks of triumph and exultation. In a few days Richard, having returned from Ireland, was taken prisoner in Flint Castle, Cheshire, by the Duke of Lancaster, who had proceeded thither with his army. With the royal captive in his train the Duke again resumed his march to the metropolis. At some distance from London, he was met by the Recorder, and a number of knights and esquires, who demanded, in the

name of the Commons of London, that he would behead Richard, and all those taken in his service; but Lancaster rejected the proposal, telling them that he would leave the delinquents to the judgment of a free Parliament. The Duke was received in the City by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Councilmen in their robes, and the guild companies in their liveries; and he made his entrance amid the acclamations of the people, who cried aloud, "Long live the good Duke of Lancaster, our deliverer." Richard was conveyed to the Tower, but the Duke repaired to St. Paul's Cathedral, where he performed his devotions at the high altar, and then kneeled at his father's tomb. He went to lodge in the house of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, at Clerkenwell, where he resided till the meeting of Parliament, at Westminster, on the last day of September. Nothing demonstrates the misconduct of the King, and the oppression that prevailed in his reign, so clearly as the universal defection of the people in favour of the Duke of Lancaster, who, in seven and forty days, made himself master of all England, without the least opposition. The King was accordingly deposed, and, on the meeting of the Legislature, Henry IV. ascended the throne. Richard was in a little time removed to the Castle of Ledes, in Kent, and from thence to Pontefract, in Yorkshire, which was the last stage of his earthly pilgrimage.*

* Froissart gives us an account of the interview between Richard and Henry on the occasion of the former yielding his sceptre to the latter. After the Act of Deposition passed by Parliament, Richard desired a conference with his aspiring rival and the Archbishop of Canterbury. The conference accordingly took place in the Council Chamber of the "White Tower," on the 29th day of September, 1399, being the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel. There were present a deputation from each house of Parliament, including the most distinguished persons in the kingdom. Richard came forth clad in his kingly robes, the sceptre in his hand, the crown upon his head, and said aloud, "I have been King of England, Duke of Aquitaine, and Lord of Ireland, about twenty-one years, which seigniory, royalty, sceptre, crown, and heritage, I clearly resign here to my cousin Henry of Lancaster, and I desire him here in this open presence, in entering of the same profession, to take this sceptre;" "and so," says Froissart, "he delivered it to the Duke, who took it." Such is the historian's account; it may be worth while to look at the poet's also, and

Some years after, when the kingdom was threatened with invasion by France and Scotland, Richard Whittington was one of those merchants who surrendered a tenth of their property to the state: and, for his patriotic conduct on this occasion, which found the usurper deserted by the nobles of the land, he was created a knight. Some time afterwards he was sent, in company with the Archbishop of York, as a commissioner to the Earl of Northumberland, then in arms against the government, to endeavour to conciliate him; and, though he failed in that object, Henry was so pleased with the Archbishop's report of his integrity and prudence, that, as some say, he offered to raise him to the peerage. Sir Richard, however, declined the honour, though, in the following year (1406), he suffered himself to be a second time elected Lord Mayor of London. During this mayoralty, which some erroneously call his third, the Earl of Northumberland made such head, that Henry was obliged to take the field; and Sir Richard Whittington subscribed one thousand pounds towards equipping his troops. London was desolated to

learn something more of what was passing beneath these outward forms and ceremonies:—

"I give this heavy weight from off my head,
And this unwieldy sceptre from my hand,
The pride of kingly sway from out my heart;
With mine own tears I wash away my balm,
With mine own hands I give away my crown,
With mine own tongue deny my sacred state,
With mine own breath release all duteous oaths:
All pomp and majesty I do forswear:
My manors, rents, revenues, I forego:
My acts, decrees, and statutes I deny:
God pardon all oaths that are broke to me!
God keep all oaths unbroke are made to thee!
Make me that nothing have with nothing grieved;
And thou with all pleas'd that hast all achiev'd!
Long may'st thou live, in Richard's seat to sit,
And soon lie Richard in an earthen pit!
God save King Henry, unking'd Richard says,
And send him many years of sunshine days!"

Well might the unhappy monarch ask in addition—

"What more remains?"

a fearful extent this year by the occurrence of a dreadful plague. No less than twenty thousand of the inhabitants were swept off; and, in consequence, corn became so cheap that wheat sold at the small rate of three shillings and fourpence per quarter.

In the year 1410, Sir Richard applied for a licence to build a church, together with a college and alms-house, on a piece of ground which the city had given him for that purpose. In the following year, having obtained the requisite licence, he built and endowed the church and college of St. Spirit and St. Mary. The foundation of the college was for "a master, five fellows, master of arts, clerks, and conducts;" and an alms-house, which he afterwards built, was attached. This latter building was called God's-House, or hospital, and was endowed for thirteen poor citizens. The principal, who was to be a teacher of the others, was to have eighteen-pence per week; and each of the remaining twelve was to have two-pence per diem. The house was to be supplied with fuel from the foundation with a hutch, or corn chest of three decks; a common seal, and furniture. The inmates were bound to pray "for the good estate of Richard Whittington, and Alice his wife, their founders; for the souls of Hugh Fitzwarren, and Dame his wife; of King Richard II., and Thomas of Woodstock; Duke of Gloucester; special lords and promoters of the said Whittington; and for Anne and Eleanor, the wives of the said King and Duke. Moreover, for the good weal and estate of our Sovereign Lord King Henry IV., and the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury (Thomas Chichely) that now be, and for the conservators and benefactors of the said house, while they live; also for their souls and ours, when they and we be passed out of the world; and generally for them to whom the said Sir Richard Whittington and Dame Alice were beholden in anywise, while they live, and for all Christen soules."

We find Whittington in the same year taking a very important part in the general improvement of the city. Up till this period the Guildhall had been but a mean edifice, situated in Aldermanbury, and far too limited for transacting the business of the Corporation, which was increasing daily. Whittington,

almost solely at his own expense, raised a new erection, which was formed to facilitate the transaction of civic affairs. Principally by his public spirit, also, another great improvement was effected, in the building of the *Stocks Market*, on the site now occupied by the Mansion House.

Two years after this period, and while still actively employed in the performance of his public duties, the subject of our notice is found attending a great Council, held at the *White Friars*, where, among other things, preparations were considered for the King's journey to the Holy Land. This expedition, however, was not fated to be fulfilled, for, immediately after the Feast of Christmas, while making his prayers at King Edward's Shrine, at Westminster, the monarch was seized with sickness, and, being removed to the Jerusalem Chamber, in the Abbot's lodgings, died on the 20th of March following.

Henry the Fifth, son of the late King, was on terms of equal friendship with the citizens of London, and under his paternal auspices the city advanced in wealth and character. Moorgate was first built about this time, and another remarkable improvement was effected, namely, the illumination of the streets at night by means of lanthorns. One can scarcely repress surprise that so useful and necessary a regulation had not been made much earlier, considering the number and wealth of the inhabitants, and the brooks and puddles which still ran through every quarter of the city. This great advance in civic reform took place in 1416, during the mayoralty of Sir Henry Barton.

But the great feature of Henry's reign was his renowned victory over the French at Agincourt, and perhaps there was no circumstance connected with this great achievement, which afforded to the monarch a better proof of the estimation in which he was held by his subjects, than his reception by the citizens of London on his triumphant return. The Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, in their scarlet robes, attended by three hundred principal citizens, mounted on stately horses, richly accoutred, met his Majesty at Blackheath. The Clergy, too, in magnificent copes, and preceded by crosses and censers, burning frankin-

cence, met him at "St. Thomas of Watering, beyond Kent Street." The city was decorated in the most sumptuous manner, and the conduits ran with various sorts of wines. The day following, the Mayor, Aldermen, and citizens repaired to Westminster, and presented his Majesty with a thousand pounds in gold, in two basons of the same metal and value.

About this period Sir Richard also erected and founded a magnificent library at Grey Friars, and a foundation in Christ's Hospital. He pulled down and rebuilt Newgate, which was destroyed afterwards by the great fire of London.

In the year 1419 Sir Richard was again, for the THIRD time, elected Lord Mayor of London.

It was during this mayoralty that he entertained Henry of Agincourt and his Bride, Catherine of France. Never before, perhaps, did a merchant display such magnificence as was then exhibited in the Guildhall. The tables groaned beneath the weight of gold and silver that was heaped upon them; precious stones were ranged about to reflect the rays of the chandeliers; and the fires, which the season of the year rendered necessary, were fed with the richest of spices. The choicest fish, the most exquisite birds, the most delicate meats, and the most rare confections, served on the precious metals, were spread before the guests, whose senses were all alike regaled. The most skilful musicians, with a choir of beautiful females, performed a concert the while; and a conduit ran rich wine to their music. "Surely," cried the amazed king, "never had prince such a subject; never was liberality such as this displayed by a subject to his sovereign." "Even the fires," cried the queen, "are filled with perfumes." "If your highness," said Sir Richard, "inhibit me not, I will make these fires still more grateful." As he ceased speaking, and the king nodding acquiescence, he drew forth a packet of bonds, and, advancing to the fire, resumed, "Thus do I acquit your highness of a debt of sixty thousand pounds;" and he tossed the bonds into the fire. The king stood mute with astonishment; the queen was motionless; and the dames of the court, unable to repress their admiration, burst into a loud plaudit.

This large amount of money had been borrowed by the King to pay his army engaged in the prosecution of the war against France. The King's bond for ten thousand marks due to the Company of Mercers; another of fifteen thousand marks due to the Chamber of London; a third for two thousand marks due to the Company of Grocers; another for three thousand marks due to several other companies; and divers others, in all amounting to the sum already named, had been taken in by Whittington and discharged.

The year 1419 is also remarkable for the foundation of Leadenhall Market. Sir Thomas Eyre, a merchant of the city, compassionating the distress to which the poor very frequently were driven to by the scarcity of corn, built Leadenhall at his own expense, and gave it to the city to be employed as a public granary. He likewise founded a chapel on the east side, where, in the time of Edward IV., a fraternity of the Trinity was founded, consisting of sixty priests, besides other brethren and sisters, with an obligation for part of them to perform service every market day, for the benefit of those who came to market.*

Whittington died in the year 1420, and was buried in St. Michael's, Vintry.

The will of Whittington, which, is still in the possession of the Mercer's Company, is headed by "a curious illumination, representing," says Pennant, "Whittington lying on his death-bed—a very lean, consumed, meagre body; and his three executors, with a priest and divers others, standing by his bed-side." The document opens, "To all true people of Cryste that shall se or here the things conteyned in these present letters, John Coventre, Jenkin Carpenter, and William Grove, exekiters of the worthie and notabil merchaunt Richard Whittington, late citizen and mercer of the citie of London, and sometime mayre of the said citie, sendinge greetyng in our Lord God everlastynge." It concludes thus:—"In wytnes we have put to our seeles, gyven at London the xxj daie of Decembre, in the yere of our Lord God MCCCCXXIV."

* At the dissolution of the religious foundation referred to, Leadenhall

"Go littel boke, go littel tragedie,
Thee lowly submytting to al correction
Of them being maisters now of the mercerie—
Olney, Felding, Boleyn, and Burton;—
Hertilie theym beseetching, with humbil salutation,
Thee to accept, and thus to take in glee,
For ever to be a servant within our commonaltie."

The citizens, particularly the merchants, long kept the anniversary of Whittington's death with particular respect. Among the returns of Chantries, &c. in the second year of Edward VI. is the following from the Mercers' company:—

"Paide yerely for the obitte of Master Whittington for spicest brede, with the spices and whyte bunes and butter, with other thinges thereto apperteyninge, xlis. viij*d.* For perres, apples, pyskettes, chese, ale, and wyne, and the butteler's fee, with other thinges, xxviij*s.* viij*d.* For waxe, and ringing of bells, ij*s.* To the poor men for to offer, xij*d.* To the Lord Maior of London, vjs. viij*d.* To the thre wardens of the Mercers, ij*li.* and to the rent wardens, xl*s.* To the clarke of the Mercer, vj*s.* viij*d.* And as for priestes and clerkes, we never paid none . . . . . ix*li.* vj*s.* ij*d.*"

was alienated for different purposes; it was at one time a market both for wool and foreign commodities in general; afterwards it was converted into an armoury, and was often used as the resort of the military musters of the citizens. It is now the principal market in the city for articles of domestic consumption.

SIR JOHN CROSBY,

(ALDERMAN.)

SIR JOHN CROSBY was perhaps the most prominent of our civic functionaries who bore a hand in the struggles between the Houses of York and Lancaster. He is supposed to have been born about the year 1420, though nothing can be directly ascertained either regarding his parentage, or the place of his birth. The old dramatist, Heywood, introduces the subject of our notice into his play of Edward IV., and attempts to invest his story with almost as much of the marvellous as belongs to that of Whittington. He makes him say that he was found near a cross, and hence his name, and that he was subsequently brought up in the Hospital of London. This was a very current report among the vulgar in Crosby's time, and for generations subsequently; though recent investigations have shown the family to have been opulent for at least a century before.* With reference to this reputed origin of his name, Stowe observes, "I hold it to be a fable saide of him, to be named Crosbie of being found by a cross." Crosby belonged to the Company of Grocers, and was at one period of his life Warden of its affairs. He was elected an Alderman in the year 1465, and was one of the Sheriffs of the City in the year 1471; and, about the same period, held the mayoralty of the Staple of Calais.

He represented the City in Parliament in the year 1461, being the same year in which Edward IV. ascended the throne.

Throughout his whole career, he appears to have distinguished himself among the party attached to the House of York, and was one of those whom Edward knighted on his approach to London, after the landing at Ravenspur in 1471. With respect

* In the Gentleman's Magazine for May, 1839, is an abstract of the subsidy roll of the Mayor and Sheriffs of London in the 13th of Henry IV. in which John Crosby is rated at 6*s.* 8*d.* in the pound on lands of the value of 31*l.* 1*s.* 2*d.* within the city. This, doubtless, was the father of Crosby.

to this circumstance, the anonymous author of the *Chronicles of London* thus writes:—"This yere kyng Edward landed in the North with fewe people, and came to London on Sher Thursday, and toke his journey furth ageyne on Easter even." His colleague in the Shrievalty seems to have been honoured with knighthood at the same period.

On the 4th of the month of May following was fought the battle of Tewkesbury, which ended in the destruction of the Lancastrian forces, the death of Prince Edward, and the capture of Queen Margaret. On the 12th, Falconbridge, a follower of Warwick, attacked the city of London, and finding that the completeness of the late victory had so settled the mind of the country, that to attempt the release of Henry VI. from the Tower would be now a useless project, he contented himself with the hope of satisfying his followers with the plunder of the city; possessing himself of Southwark, he crossed the river at St. Katharine's, and attacked the city both by the way of Bishopsgate and Aldgate, whilst another party stormed London Bridge, and fired the houses on it, and others to the number of three hundred. Within the Tower, at this time, resided, besides the captive monarch, Henry VI., the Queen and the family of Edward IV. placed in the royal apartments of the fortress for safety, during the absence of the King in the West of England. The dramatist in the play already alluded to, makes Crosby in this posture of affairs address his fellow citizens:—

> "Stick to your City, as good men should do;
> Think, that in Richard's time e'en such a rebel
> Was then by Walworth, the Lord Mayor of London,
> Stabbed dead in Smithfield.
> Then show yourselves as it befits the time,—
> Dare stab a rebel were he made of brass."

And again—

> "Let never rebels put true subjects down;
> Come when they will, their welcome shall be such
> As they had better kept them farther off."

In the parley with Falconbridge, who summons the city to surrender, Crosby is made to reply—

"Nay then, proud rebel, pause, and hear me speak :
There's not the poorest and meanest citizen
That is a faithful subject to the King,
But, in despite of thy rebellious rout,
Shall walk to Bow, a small wand in his hand,
Although thou be encamped at Mile End Green :
And not the proudest rebel of you all,
Shall dare to touch him for his damned soul."

The citizens, under Crosby and the Aldermen, were sufficient to repulse the rebels, and the King coming to the metropolis on the 21st of the month, was met by the City authorities between Shoreditch and Islington, where he knighted Crosby and others, who had been most instrumental to the successful resistance which had been made; and Heywood subsequently introduces Crosby clad in his robes, and puts into his mouth the following soliloquy, in reference to the circumstances :—

"Ay, marry, Crosby, this befits thee well,
But some will marvel, that with scarlet gown,
I wear a gilded rapier by my side :
Why, let them know; I was knighted in the field,
For my good service to my Lord the King;
And therefore I may wear it lawfully,
In court or city, or at royal banquet."*

* The dramatist here makes Crosby personate the Lord Mayor though he never occupied the civic chair. One of Crosby's colleagues in the magistracy was also one of the bravest at this time in his defence of the city against the rebels. This was Alderman Robert Basset, who, while one of the detachments of the insurgents was endeavouring to force its way through Aldgate into the city, repulsed it with so much valour, that, being now deserted by his adherents, Falconbridge escaped on board his ships at Blackwall and got out to sea. He was afterwards taken and executed at Southampton. Stow, in his account of this rebellion, and other authors tell us, that many houses on London bridge were burned down on the occasion. The only great commotion which had previously disturbed the city since the death of Wat Tyler, was that caused by the rebels under Jack Cade, on the evening of Thursday the 2d of July, 1430. On this occasion, the commonalty of London opened the bridge gates to the insurgent leader, who, as he entered at the head of his men, cut the ropes of the drawbridge asunder with his sword. For a particular account of Cade's Rebellion, the reader is referred to the year 1430, in the "Chronicles of the Mayoralty and Shrievalty," at the end of the volume.

In the following year, 1472, a most delicate commission was entrusted to Sir John Crosby, in common with Sir John Scott, marshall of Calais, Watcliffe, the King's secretary, Dr. John Russell, archdeacon of Berkshire, and other eminent persons. Their chief ostensible object was to arrange various matters, then in abeyance, between the Duke of Burgundy and the King of England, and, we presume, to form a treaty of alliance against France, which Edward then meditated attacking. From thence they passed to the court of the Duke of Brittany, where, besides concluding a similar treaty, they were, says Stowe, "to have gotten there the two earls of Pembroke and of Richmond." Had they succeeded in this object, how different might have been the destiny of England. Soon after the defeat of the Lancastrians at the battle of Tewkesbury, the Earl of Pembroke had fled with his young charge to seek refuge in France. A storm drove his vessel on the coast of Brittany, and the two nobles were detained by Francis, the reigning Duke. Edward now claimed them as enemies and fugitive traitors, but in vain; he could get no other assurance than that they should never be allowed to disturb his government. This was far from satisfactory; hence the secret mission given to Sir John Crosby and his companions, who, by profession of friendship for the exiles, succeeded at last in persuading both them and the Duke of the propriety of returning to England. The future conqueror of Bosworth field was already at St. Malo, on the point of embarkation, when Landois, the minister of the Duke, suddenly arrived, and prevented his sailing on various pretexts till Richmond took the alarm, and fled from the agents of the man who had probably the same fate in store for him that had awaited Henry VI.

Sir John Crosby's name is principally remembered by the citizens of London as the builder of that splendid mansion in Bishopsgate Street, known by the designation of "Crosby Place." Let us turn for a moment from the busy throng of tens of thousands who are pouring past us, and take a look of that ancient edifice, which still retains the same air of impressive grandeur which it did in the days of the Plantagenets. The

walls cannot speak, yet withal they are eloquent. "To all those who feel" says a late author "whether as a passing mood or more enduring sentiment, that consciousness of solitude in populous places, which Byron has so beautifully described, what can be more refreshing than to come upon these green spots in the desert—what more delightful than to step out of the whirl and the throng into some peaceful place, where the echo of your own footsteps is the loudest sound you may hear, and the rush of interesting recollections which people the silent, but most eloquent walls, the only crowd that can arrest your wanderings! No happier example of this contrast between the fancy-stirring past, and the matter-of-fact present, which London so frequently and forcibly presents, can perhaps be found than in the instance of the subject before us. It appears itself too absorbed in the remembrance of its past glories, and of the great men who have lived within its sheltering arms, to heed the tumult without; and as to the visitor, the antique impressive air of the place, soon subdues his thoughts to its own colour."

Crosby Place is supposed to have been built by Sir John Crosby about the year 1471. The lease of its site, formerly in possession of Cataneo Pinelli, a merchant of Genoa, was granted to Sir John by Alice Ashfield, prioress of the Convent of St. Helen's, adjoining; this tenement was most probably pulled down to make way for the magnificent erection that soon appeared upon its site, and of which there is no reason to doubt but the more ancient parts are the genuine remains. Sir John Crosby died in 1475, so that he could have enjoyed but for a short time the splendour of Crosby Place, then noticed as the highest domestic building in London.

Lady Crosby, his first wife, had died in 1466. His second wife, it would appear, survived him many years. He left a son, born after the date of his will in 1471, who probably died soon after attaining his majority, and with whom the family became extinct. A beautiful tomb, in the neighbouring church of St. Helen's, marks the last resting place of his and his wife's remains.

"Outstretched together are expressed,
He and his lady fair,
With hands uplifted on the breast
In attitude of prayer;
Grim-visaged, clad in armour, he;
With ancient robe and head-gear she."

The following is the inscription upon the tablet:—

ORATE PRO ANIMABUS, JOHANNIS CROSBY, MILITIS ALD. ATQUE TEMPORE VITAE MAJORIS STAPLE VILLE CALEIS, ET AGNETIS UXORIS SUAE, AC THOMAE, RICHARDI, JOHANNIS, MARGARATAE ET JOHANNAE, LIBERORUM EJUSDEM JOHANNIS CROSBY, MILITIS, ILLE OBIIT MCCCCLXXV, ET ILLA MCCCCLXVI, QUORUM ANIMABUS PROPITIETUR DEUS.*

The monument is thus described by Mr. Carlos:—"It is of free-stone, ornamented at the sides and on the ends with quatre-foil panels, enclosing shields, each being separated by buttresses; on the ledger lie extended the full-length statues in alabaster, of Sir John Crosbie and his first wife Annce or Agnes—as a knight, he is attired in armour, with a mantle and collar of alternate roses and suns, the badge of King Edward the Fourth; his hair is cropped and parted, and his head rests upon a helmet laid in the manner of a pillow; at the right side is a dagger, but the effigy has no sword; at the feet is a griffin. The lady is dressed in a

* The Latinity of this epitaph is rather singular as respects the word *animabus* for *animis*, no such ablative being found in Roman authors.—The position which Sir John Crosby held, as Mayor of the Staple of Calais, was of considerable importance in its day. The merchants of the Staple were the English representatives of the Hans Merchants, an association succeeding to the Guilda Aula Theutonicorum of the reign of Henry III., and denominated afterwards the Flemish Guild, Merchants of Almaine, and of the Steel Yard. The chief functionary of the English body was denominated Alderman or Maior, and had an official residence at Calais; they possessed many privileges, which they held subject to keeping in repair by money, and defending by arms, the "*Bishopsgate*." Neglecting this obligation, in the reign of Edward I., they were summoned before the Barons of the Exchequer, and in 1479 the same gate was by them beautifully built. In 1551, apparently dreading a revocation of their privileges, they had prepared another gate, but not in time to prevent the seizure of their liberties into the King's hands, on the petition of the English merchants.

close-bodied gown, in which her feet are folded, with long tight sleeves down to her wrists, and round the neck a collar of roses; from the shoulders depends a mantle, and on the head is a cap close fitted to the ears, under which the hair is tucked; a veil falls off on the cushion upon which the head reposes, and this is supported by two angels; at the feet lie two little dogs."

Considerable doubt has been expressed as to the meaning of the ornament, in the shape of a four-footed animal, appended to the collar of the effigy. Some inquirers are of opinion that it must have been intended for a white lion, the cognizance of the Earls of March, granted in some instances to the adherents of Edward IV. Others incline to the supposition that it was purposed to indicate a ram, the crest of Crosby.

After the death of Alderman Crosby his house became connected with several of the most remarkable events of the fifteenth century, and on that account is deserving of particular notice in this place. It was for a considerable period the residence of Richard III., and the scene where many of the schemes of his eventful life were plotted. In allusion to the circumstance of the monarch residing here the well known passage in Shakspere will occur to all readers, where the Duke of Gloucester, at the conclusion of his successful wooing of the Lady Anne, thus addresses her:—

"And if thy poor devoted servant may
But beg one favour at thy gracious hand,
Thou dost confirm his happiness for ever.
Anne.—What is it?
Glo.—That it may please you leave these sad designs
To him that hath most cause to be a mourner,
And presently repair to Crosby House;
Where, after I have solemnly interr'd
At Chertsey monastery this noble King,
And wet his grave with my repentant tears,
I will with all expedient duty see you."

This passage, says an author already quoted, is of great importance; for the preservation of Crosby Hall, through all the vicissitudes of its fortunes, is attributable to the popularity it derived from it. What its own intrinsic beauty and historical character might not

have accomplished for it, has been done by a mere incidental notice in the great poet's writings. Richard's residence here, however, at the time of his marriage, 1473, is very doubtful, as Sir John Crosby was then alive. But a much more important event than the poet refers to unquestionably did take place in this building in connection with Richard. It was in the hall of Crosby Place that he determined upon the deposition, perhaps the death, of the young King, Edward V., and it was here that all the plans were concocted for his own elevation to the vacant throne. When Edward IV. died, on the 9th of April, 1483, his eldest son, the Prince of Wales, was with his maternal uncle, the Earl of Rivers, at Ludlow Castle, and the younger with his mother Elizabeth, in London. Richard Duke of Gloster was at that moment at the head of an army devoted to his service in the marches of Scotland. He immediately marched upon York, where he caused his nephew to be proclaimed king, and from thence proceeded towards London. The prince or king was also, by his mother's directions, advancing towards the metropolis. The Duke, aware of his movement, so well timed his own, that they met at Stony Stratford, without any appearance of intention on the part of the uncle. There the unsuspicious youth and his guardians were seized, the former being conveyed with all outward marks of respect and allegiance to London, and the latter to Pontefract, where they were almost immediately beheaded. The news of these events preceded the chief actor in them. Elizabeth withdrew with the Duke of York to the Sanctuary at Westminster, and great was the commotion among the citizens. But the Lord Hastings, another of Richard's destined victims, quieted their minds by assuring them that the Duke was faithful to his prince, and that the Earl of Rivers and his companion had merely been arrested for matters attempted by them against the King and the Duke of Buckingham. A curious kind of proof was displayed to the populace,—barrels filled with arms, which, their conductors said, the traitors had privately got together to destroy the two noble lords. "It were alms to hang the traitors!" was the exclamation, as the spectators turned away,

perfectly satisfied with this species of optical logic. Such was the state of things when Richard arrived in London, and, having lodged the young King in the Tower, took up his residence for a time at Crosby Place.

The various scenes which have been witnessed by the walls of Crosby Place since they were inhabited by Richard III., are worthy of being here briefly recorded. On the death of Elizabeth, the queen of Henry VII., in 1502, when Maximilian, the Emperor of Germany, sent into England a solemn embassy, they were triumphantly received into London, and lodged at Crosby Place. The ambassadors on this occasion were guests of Bartholomew Read, Lord Mayor in 1501-2.* The next possessor of Crosby Place was Sir John Rest,† who was Lord Mayor in 1516 (the year of the Evil May Day), and by him it appears to have been sold, though at what time is uncertain, to the illustrious Chancellor of Henry VIII., Sir Thomas More. From the period of More's marriage, in 1507, he resided in Bucklersbury. Perhaps it was soon after his mission, on which he had been sent to Bruges, in company with Cuthbert Tunstal, in 1514-15, that he purchased Crosby Place, for his advancement then became rapid. He was made Privy Councillor in 1516, and in 1517 Master of the Requests. The journey to Bruges forms the ground-work of his famous romance, the "Utopia." At Bruges he supposes himself to have met with Raphael, the learned traveller, who had seen the country of Utopia, and describes to Sir Thomas More the manners and customs of its inhabitants. It is highly probable that this celebrated work was written at Crosby Place. So great was the favour which More now possessed with his royal master, that the latter was accustomed not unfrequently to come and spend the day with his witty and learned favourite, without even the formality of a previous notice. In 1523 Sir Thomas More sold Crosby Place to Antonio Bonvisi, a merchant of Lucca, then settled in England, and, according to More's own words, his

* Vide Life of Lord Mayor Read.

† Vide Life of Sir John Rest (Lord Mayor).

dearest friend. After More's committal to the Tower, but for Bonvisi, with possibly another friend or two, and Margaret Roper, More's daughter, this great and good man would have been left by his murderers without proper clothes to cover him, or proper food to eat. When the order for his execution came to the Tower, and Sir Thomas Pope, his "regular good friend," having informed him of his fate—he was to die before nine in the morning of the same day—had left him to himself, Sir Thomas, as one that had been invited to a solemn banquet, changed himself into his best apparel, and put on his silk camlet gown, which his "entire friend Antonio Bonvisi," gave him whilst in the Tower. He was induced, however, to take it off again, as it would otherwise become a perquisite of the executioner. He then went cheerfully to the block, his wit and humour flashing brightly to the last, "Mr. Lieutenant, see me safe up," said he, referring to the danger that had been expressed of the scaffold, "and for my coming down let me shift for myself." So perished this the greatest of the inhabitants of Crosby Place. His connection with it can scarcely be said to have ended even then; for Bonvisi, in 1547, leased Crosby Place to William Roper, the husband of More's favourite daughter, Margaret, the affectionate and noble high-spirited woman who so greatly contributed to the comfort of her father in his worst trials; and to William Rastell, his nephew, the celebrated printer. In the reign of Edward VI., Bonvisi, Roper, and Rastell appear to have been all driven abroad by religious persecution, and the estate of Crosby Hall forfeited. It was then granted to Sir Thomas D'Arcy, knight, Lord D'Arcy of Chule. But immediately on the accession of Mary, the persecution having changed sides, Bonvisi and his friends were free to return, which they did in the first year of her reign, and immediately regained their property. The next proprietors were Peter Crowle, Germayne Cioll, who married a cousin of Sir Thomas Gresham's (the daughter of Sir John Gresham, with whom Thomas was apprenticed,) and William Bond, Alderman of London, and his sons. Some extensive alterations are supposed to have been made

during Bond's proprietorship; a turret in particular is mentioned as having been built by him, which greatly increased the height of the building. No traces of this turret are now to be found.* In 1594 Lord Mayor Sir John Spencer purchased Crosby Place, and kept his mayoralty that year in it, with great splendour.† He was perhaps the richest citizen of his day, as he died worth nearly a million sterling. He was called "The Rich Spencer." His daughter and sole heiress married William, the second Lord Compton, afterwards Earl of Northampton, who was so transported at the value of his inheritance that he lost his wits, and remained for some years in that state.

During Spencer's proprietorship, ambassadors were entertained on several occasions here. The most important event of this kind was when M. de Rosney, afterwards the celebrated Duke of Sully, Henry IV. of France's great adviser, came to London on a special embassy to James II. in the hope of inducing James to maintain the league which had existed between Elizabeth, France, and the Hollanders, and to prevent him from making peace with Roman Catholic Spain. During the occupancy of Crosby Place by Lord Compton and his rich wife, another distinguished tenant graced its walls. This was the lady whose name was so affectionately attached by Sir Philip Sidney to his famous romance "The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia," in compliment to his beloved sister. We need scarcely add that this was the lady whom Ben Jonson has celebrated in one of the prettiest epitaphs in our language. The Countess of Pembroke lived so many years in Crosby Place that her history is a part of its own:

> "Underneath this sable hearse
> Lies the subject of all verse:
> Sydney's sister, Pembroke's mother,
> Death, ere thou canst find another,
> Good, and fair, and wise as she,
> Time shall throw a dart at thee!"

Spencer, Earl of Northampton, the son of the last-mentioned

* See Life of William Bond (Alderman).

† See Life of Sir John Spencer (Lord Mayor).

proprietor, resided here in 1638. This nobleman was one of the most strenuous supporters of Charles I., and almost the first of his order who shed his blood in his service. He was killed by the King's side at Hopton Heath, in Staffordshire, in 1642. Two years before, Crosby Place had been leased to Sir John Langham, who was Sheriff in 1642, during whose occupation it is said to have been used as a prison for royalists. His son, Sir Stephen Langham, succeeded him, and it is supposed that it was during his tenancy that the fire occurred by which Crosby Place was so greatly injured, that from that period it ceased to be used as a dwelling. In 1672 the hall was converted into a Presbyterian meeting-house, and so remained for nearly a century (a son of the eminent divine, Calamy, was one of the assistant preachers here about 1726), and in 1677 the present houses in Crosby Square were built on the ruins of the parts of the old mansion that had been destroyed. Its history is now nearly brought to a conclusion. After the disuse of the hall as a meeting-house it was degraded into a packer's warehouse, and, whilst thus occupied, received the most serious injury from the alterations which were made in it. In 1831 the lease upon which the hall had been held expired; and from that time the most unremitting exertions have been made by a committee of gentlemen, who had taste to appreciate the historical and architectural value of Crosby Place, to restore the remaining parts of the structure to their pristine state: and the subscriptions received have, in a great measure, enabled them to accomplish this object. Extensive reparations have taken place, and much of the original mansion has been rebuilt.

"The fretted roof look'd dark and cold,
And tatter'd all around;
The carved work of ages old
Dropp'd, wither'd on the ground;
The casements' antique tracery
Was eaten by the dew,
And the night-breeze, whistling mournfully,
Crept keen and coldly through."

The first stone of the new works was laid on the 27th of June,

1836, by the Right Honourable W. T. Copeland, Lord Mayor, when a plan of them, with other documents of the subject, were deposited in a bottle, and the latter placed in a cavity of the stone formed to receive it. After that portion of the ceremony was over, the Lord Mayor led the way into the hall, which was fitted up in a characteristic manner for the occasion. Banners floated along the walls, the floor was strewed with rushes, and a genuine old Elizabethan breakfast, including a noble baron of beef, was spread upon the tables.

Founded during a period separated by a broad line of demarcation from modern history, the walls of Crosby Place bear witness to a time when tyranny in the king, oppression by the nobles, and ignorance in the people, led to superstition in religion, warfare in the state, and fierce manners, and brutal passions in social life: continued to our times, the building exists under different circumstances, and is applied to new purposes. It has been restored at a period when our reverence for the throne is augmented by personal attachment to the illustrious individual who fills it; when the due administration of the law provides for the security of our property, and the protection of our persons; when our free institutions expand themselves, to keep pace with our increased knowledge, and our extended empire; when the hand of industry is applying all that philosophy has shown to be practicable; when literature is not merely a taste, but the pursuit of thousands; when patient research is rescuing from oblivion the treasures of the past, and the missionaries of physical and moral science spread abroad the discoveries of the present, time; and when our language and our laws give freedom and elevation wherever our commerce has reached, or our people have settled.

For a brief description of Crosby Place, as it at present appears to the eye of a spectator, we shall adopt the language of a work, already largely had recourse to:*—"Although as a work of art, Crosby Place presents some unrivalled features,—the roof of its hall for instance,—yet its historical recollections constitute its greatest charm. If we take as our guide the plan of the vaults

* "London," by C. Knight.

still existing beneath the site of Crosby Place and the neighbourhood, it will be evident that the original edifice must have been as magnificent for its extent as for the general beauty of its decorations. Large as is the space occupied by the hall and the council-chamber, with the throne-room above, (the only remaining portions of Crosby Place,) yet it scarcely occupies half the extent denoted by the remains below the soil. Among these remains there is one particularly interesting feature, a crypt with a finely groined roof, now occupied as a wine cellar. From its situation it appears highly probable that this stood beneath a chapel belonging to Crosby Place; although we must also state that it is the opinion of persons well qualified to judge, that it belonged to a chapel of the old Priory of St. Helen's. The entrance to Crosby Place is through a small gateway. The exterior of the hall consists of one story only, with its lofty and elegant windows, and its exquisitely beautiful oriel window, reaches from the ground to the top of the building, and the exterior of the council-chamber, with the throne-room above. It may be noticed that the two windows to the extreme right of the hall differ from the remainder, in being closer together. These give light to a part of the building which formed the gallery of the hall, extending over the gateway, which leads into Crosby Square, formerly the inner court of the great mansion. Beneath this gateway, it is supposed, was the original entrance to the hall; at present, however, we reach the interior of Crosby Place through a low postern doorway, situated in the angle between the wall of the council-chamber and the great oriel window. We first enter upon the council-chamber, or, as it is sometimes called, the dining-room. This is lighted by two windows which look into the small quadrangle, we have just quitted, and by one situated in the left-hand corner of the opposite wall. This window is large, lofty, and of a very unique character—a restoration of a former work. There was formerly also a beautiful bay window-looking into the quadrangle, and the blank arch of which still remains. The only other peculiar features of this room are the flat, massy-ribbed ceiling, which is

modern, (and although in accordance with the character of the room) forms still but a poor substitute for the elaborately elegant work of stucco and gold, with dropping pendants, which formerly met the eye in the same place; and the chimney-piece, which consists of a low, pointed, and very broad arch, set within square deep mouldings. We next ascend to the throne-room; why so called it is impossible to say. This is a very beautiful room, with a rounded ceiling, divided into small compartments by slender ribs of oak, and lighted in a very similar manner to the room beneath. One of the windows, however, looking into the quadrangle has the additional ornament of a richly-painted border, and the window in the corner is still more unique, as well as infinitely more beautiful, than that of the council-chamber directly below. It extends from floor to ceiling, is situated within a small recess panelled at the sides and beautifully ornamented at the top, and is divided into two compartments by a slender stem in the centre, which at the top has a small knot of ornament falling, like a bunch of fruit, a little on each side, and giving to the stem, when seen from the opposite wall, one of the most graceful forms that it is possible to conceive. Descending to the council-chamber, we find, besides the low postern door through which we entered, a larger one, which admits us into the innermost sanctuary of the place,—the Great Hall. Of the noble proportions of this hall, and the surpassing beauty of its roof, built no less than three hundred and sixty years ago, an adequate conception could scarcely be formed from any description we could give. In dimensions, it is 54 feet long, 27½ broad, and 40 feet high. The breadth of the oriel window is 10 feet 10 inches, and its height the height of the hall. This window is richly decorated with a series of armorial bearings, the tasteful and munificent present of Thomas Willemest, Esq., and which, though of so recent an origin, have all the appearance of ancient works of art. We see among them the arms of the Prioress of St. Helen's, the earliest proprietor of the place, Sir John Crosby, the builder, of the City of London, so many of whose eminent citizens have made the hall ring again with the sound of festive hospi-

tality, of Richard the "crook-backed tyrant," whose few days' residence there will preserve the name of Crosby Place when the last vestige of its architectural glories shall have disappeared, and of Henry's murdered Chancellor, Sir Thomas More, the wise, learned, amiable, and witty author of the "Utopia." The remainder comprise the arms and badges of Richard's Queen, and of the House of York, Sir Thomas D'Arey, William Bond and his company, and the "Rich Spencer" and his company. The other windows of the hall are similarly decorated, those on the same side containing the arms of various subscribers to the expenses of the restoration, and those on the opposite, among others, of Sir John Rest, the Duke of Sully, Lord Compton, and the present owner, W. P. Williams Freeman, Esq. In the very beautiful roof of the oriel window we perceive, among the knots of foliage that still bloom for us as they bloomed for our ancestors hundreds of years ago, a boss of superior size, on which is carved in relief a ram trippant,—the crest of Sir John Crosby, and which is looked upon, and in all probability correctly, as having been placed there by Sir John himself to commemorate his name as the founder of the magnificence around. The louvre, or opening in the centre of the roof, has caused much discussion. In ancient halls the smoke had frequently no other mode of escape than by the louvre or where there is a regular chimney, with a front like that of the council-chamber:—perhaps the chimney was of later construction. The aperture of the louvre is now closed by the same piece of wood-work that was formerly elevated above it. The pavement of the hall remains to a certain extent in its original state, when it was paved with stone in small square slabs arranged diagonally, the whole being divided by five lines formed in a similar manner, running from one end of the hall to the other. "It is singular," says Mr. Blackburne,* "that Crosby Hall shows no indication of a *raised* dais; and the only instance I recollect of a similar departure from the general custom is to be met with at Sawston Hall, Cambridgeshire." The walls of the part thus distinguished were usually hung with arras, and this was no doubt the case in

* Architectural and Historical Account of Crosby Place.

Crosby Hall. The dais here must have occupied a very large space, as the oriel window, which was always included in it, stands at some considerable distance from the northern wall. In this wall there was most probably a communication with a little room still existing behind it, from which a handsome doorway, with three lights above (lately restored), led into the part which was then, it is supposed, the small private garden or "pleasaunce" of the mansion, but which now forms an open space in front of St. Helen's Church. Lastly, we may notice the gallery of the hall, which still remains, though stripped of all its decoration, and hidden by the canvass which covers that end of the room. Galleries of this kind were generally denominated the Minstrels' Gallery, and the name bespeaks its use.

At the first commemoration of Sir Thomas Gresham, celebrated on the 12th of July, 1832, the gallery of Crosby Hall was occupied by the choir engaged in the musical performance of that interesting festival after the conclusion of the service in the church. This, if we may adopt the opinion of the eloquent Gresham professor of music, given in a lecture delivered in Crosby Hall in 1838, was but a type of the rich musical memories of the place. Reference is made by that gentleman to one of the many madrigals, and other vocal pieces, composed in honour of the "fair vestal throned by the west," under the poetical appellation of Oriana, and which it has been supposed Elizabeth herself could not resist from encouraging.*

* "In this spacious and beautiful hall we may not only be sure that these compositions have often been sung, but this is the only remaining edifice in London in which we may feel equally assured that some of our greatest vocal writers have assembled to give and to receive pleasure in the social performance of their own compositions. Near to this spot was born and lived the celebrated William Byrde, whose writings remain to this day monuments of splendid genius and profound erudition; from whom his scholar, Morley, gratefully confessed to have 'received the will and the power to enter into the contemplation and searching out of the hidden mysteries and divine enjoyments of his art, and derived the wish and the means to live in after times.' Near to this spot was also born the pupil whose affectionate gratitude is recorded in these words, and whose works

SIR EDMUND SHAW,

(LORD MAYOR.)

This remarkable historical personage, like his cotemporary, Sir John Crosby, lived in an age made great not only by its events, but also by the character of its actors,—an age in which the fate of civil, religious, and political liberty in England hung upon the triumph of one of two great parties in the state, warring against each other, in all the bitterness of sanguinary conflict. During this stormy period blood had been shed in torrents; but it fell upon the earth like the large drops of rain from the passing thundercloud of summer, to bring forth fruit in due season.

abundantly prove that he had indulged in no vain and visionary anticipations in predicting their prolonged existence. Near to this spot also lived the sweetest of all that illustrious choir, who enriched our art with never-dying strains, John Wilbye. Near this spot were produced those compositions which are still the study and delight of his successors, and which are destined to charm generations yet to come. Near this spot, too, stood the princely mansion of Gresham, bequeathed by him to the use and benefit of his fellow-citizens, where he designed instruction in religion, in science, and in art, to be freely and liberally dispensed to all; founding a temple of learning, whose doors should be open, and whose advantages should be accessible to every inquirer after knowledge however humble in station or mean in acquirements; and, lastly, near this spot repose the honoured remains of its founder (in the same church that contains the ashes of Sir John Crosby, the founder of the splendid "Place"). Here, then, a thousand interesting associations crowd upon the mind, and connect themselves with the lives and labours of these illustrious men; for here the musician, as well as the architect and the historian, feels that he is treading classic ground. Imagination calls up the time when this hall was thronged with the noble, the learned, the graceful of past ages; when the hospitable board was here spread, and among the guests, Gresham, the princely merchant, the friend, and the neighbour; Byrde, Wilbye, Morley, the most accomplished musicians of their time, all living under the shadow of this building, when this spacious roof echoed to the sound of their harmonies, and when "The health of the Queen" was followed by some madrigal in praise of fair Oriana."

Edmund Shaw was born in London during the first quarter of the fifteenth century. His family appear to have been of considerable wealth and substance, and from the social position which the Shaws had already occupied for a considerable period in the metropolis, it is evident that the Lord Mayor afterwards immortalised by the bard of Avon, was sprung from a race of considerable note. He was a member of the Company of Goldsmiths, and in the year 1475, in conjunction with Alderman Hill, he served the office of Sheriff. This was in the mayoralty of Robert Bassett, who highly distinguished himself in repelling the insurgents from the city, on the occasion of the rebellion of Falconbridge, four years previously. In the year 1482, Shaw was raised to the civic chair, and from the mode of conduct which he displayed in the performance of the duties of his office, he derived his chief claims for remembrance by posterity.

It is impossible to enter into even a cursory relation of the transactions of so remarkable an actor in the events of the wildest period in the history of our country, without touching, to some extent, upon the nature of the cause which he espoused.

Of the personal character of Shaw, unconnected with the great drama of bloodshed which passed before the inhabitants of this country, during the period he held the distinguished office of Lord Mayor, no authentic notices whatever have descended to us. It has often been a matter of regret with historians, that in cases where it would have been not only entertaining, but instructive, to have preserved some relic which might have thrown light on the calmer but more characteristic features of existence, ordinary record never failed to be at fault. Sir Edmund Shaw seems to have been a zealous partisan of the house of York, and from the commencement of the struggle which ended in the destruction of the house of Plantagenet, to have stuck by the claims of that family whose last monarch perished on Bosworth Field, in the person of Richard the Third.

The first swords in the civil war, which made the best blood in England flow like water, throughout the greater part of a

quarter of a century, were crossed at Saint Albans, in the year 1455, in the reign of Henry the Sixth.

This monarch, son of the hero of Agincourt, was remarkable for the extreme weakness of his character. His cousin, Richard, Duke of York, descended from an elder son of Edward the Third, and therefore possessed of a superior title to the throne, conceived that Henry's imbecility afforded a good opportunity for asserting what he thought his birthright. Thus commenced the famous Wars of the Roses, as they were called, from the badges of the families of York and Lancaster, the former of which was a red, while the latter was a white rose. In 1454, the Duke gained a decisive victory over the forces of Henry, which were led by his spirited consort, Margaret of Anjou. In some succeeding engagements, the friends of Henry were victorious; and at length, in the battle of Wakefield, December 24, 1460, the forces of the Duke of York were signally defeated, and himself, with one of his sons, taken and put to death. His pretensions were then taken up by his eldest son Edward, who, with the assistance of the Earl of Warwick, gained such advantages next year that he assumed the crown. Before this was accomplished, many had fallen on both sides. Henry, who cared little for the pomp of sovereignty, was confined in the Tower.

Edward, of the House of York, styled Edward the Fourth, who commenced his reign in the nineteenth year of his age, reigned ten years, perpetually disturbed by renewed attempts of the Lancastrian party, of which he mercilessly sacrificed many thousands, who fell into his hands. At length, having offended the Earl of Warwick, who had been chiefly instrumental in placing him upon the throne, that powerful nobleman raised an insurrection against him, and in eleven days was master of the kingdom, while Edward had to take refuge on the continent. Henry the Sixth was then restored, and Warwick acquired the title of King-maker. Nine months after (1471) Edward landed with a small body of followers, and having called his partisans around him, overthrew and killed Warwick at Saint Albans. Margaret of Anjou, who had fought battles for her husband in almost every province of

England, gathered a new army, and opposed Edward at Tewkesbury Park, where she was completely routed. Her son and husband being taken, were routed in cold blood, and she herself spent the remainder of her singular life in France. Edward reigned, a profligate and a tyrant, till 1483, when he died in the forty-second year of his age. He had previously caused his brother, the equally profligate Duke of Clarence, to be drowned in a butt of malmsey wine.

And now begins this "strange eventful history." Edward the Fifth, the eldest son of Edward the Fourth, was a boy of eleven years when he succeeded to the throne. His uncle, Richard, the Duke of Gloucester, a wicked and deformed wretch, yet possessed of the most daring and ambitious intellect, aspired to supreme power. Already had he caused the greatest internal convulsions in the kingdom, and from the savage manner in which he seemed to gloat over the perpetration of cruelty in every form, those who were acquainted with his nature, could have slight hopes that the minority of a child of tender years should glide away with either care for the well-being of the country, or without some striking demonstration of the real temper of the tyrant. Gloucester was appointed Protector, and laid his schemes for sovereignty with all due caution and deliberation.

With this view, therefore, he endeavoured to engage in his service a great number of profligate persons of desperate fortunes, without fear, conscience, or any other principle of action than self-interest; who would execute his commands and directions, how wicked and cruel soever they might be, without remorse or hesitation. While he privately enlisted this band of desperadoes, he still maintained his dissimulation in the eyes of the world, affecting to prepare for the coronation of his nephew, at which he summoned all gentlemen possessing forty pounds a year, to attend and receive the honour of knighthood. His next scheme was to find out a pretence for excluding the children of Edward from the throne, as well as those of Clarence, who stood between him and his hopes. When the resolution is once taken, pretences are easily invented to give it countenance. His

emissaries began to prepare the public for his usurpation, by spreading reports to the prejudice of his mother's reputation. They whispered about, that the old Duchess of York had been false to her husband's bed, and that neither Edward nor Clarence were begotten by their reputed father, whereas, Richard wore his express image, both in the features of his countenance, and lineaments of his mind and disposition. Not contented with aspersing the character of a lady, which had hitherto been unblemished, they fixed the imputation of bastardy upon Edward's children, in consequence of the pretended marriage, by which they said he was previously contracted to Elizabeth Lucy. They insinuated, that the children of Clarence were rendered incapable of succeeding to the throne, by the attainder of their father, and mentioned Richard, not only as the true heir of blood, but also as a prince possessed of every quality that could adorn a crown.

These reports were disseminated in such an artful manner, that they gained credit among the lower class of people, while they gave umbrage to those noblemen who were attached to the family of the late king, and in particular to Lord Hastings, who was still entirely ignorant of Richard's real design. The Protector was well acquainted with his sentiments, but had hitherto lived upon terms of friendship with him, on account of his great interest in the City of London, nor was he altogether without hope of bringing him entirely over to his interest. He likewise cultivated a seeming friendship with the two archbishops, the Bishop of Ely, and the Lord Stanley, who were well wishers to the two young princes, because he found his account in their countenance; and resolved to wear the mask until he should have no further occasion for their assistance. In order to amuse them in the mean time, he fixed a day for the coronation of Edward, and divided his council, on pretence of making more expedition in preparing for that solemnity. Amongst the individuals whom Gloucester chose on this occasion, as well fitted to promote his ultimate intentions, so far as the metropolis was concerned, was Edmund Shaw, the subject of our notice, and now Lord Mayor of the city. Richard's creatures and sycophants sat at West-

minster, attended by our worthy, while the noblemen that favoured the cause of Edward, were detached in a separate committee at the Tower, where they met every day to superintend the preparations. They soon perceived that obstacles were industriously raised to prevent the execution of their orders—that very few persons were admitted to the King, who was attended by a small number of domestics, while his uncle was continually surrounded by swarms of courtiers, whom he caressed with such affability as seemed contrary to his natural disposition. These circumstances, added to the delay of the coronation, alarmed the Lord Stanley, who now began to suspect the Duke of Gloucester of sinister designs. He freely communicated his suspicions to his colleagues, and, as the resolutions of the other council were mysteriously concealed from their knowledge, proposed that they should, without loss of time, concert proper measures for the safety of their sovereign. The Lord Hastings, who firmly believed that the Protector had no other design but that of destroying the queen's faction, dispelled these just suspicions, by assuring them there was nothing to be feared from the other council, and offered to pawn his head, that if they should take any step to the prejudice of the King and the realm, he should be informed of it by one of the members who was entirely devoted to his interest. This was his friend and confidant Catesby; but he little dreamed that this man betrayed him, and that such was the price by which he purchased the confidence of the Protector. The Lord Stanley and his colleagues allowed themselves to be convinced by the assurances of Hastings, whose intelligence they preferred to their own observations, and thus neglected the opportunity which never recurred.

Meanwhile, Richard thought it was now high time, either to make a convert of Hastings to his views, or to destroy him at once: for this purpose he employed Catesby to sound that nobleman, touching his opinion of the protector's right, which happened at that time to be the common subject of conversation.

Buck. Go, gentle Catesby,
And, as it were far off, sound thou Lord Hastings
How he doth stand affected to our purpose;

And summon him to-morrow to the Tower,
To sit about the coronation.
If thou dost find him tractable to us,
Encourage him, and tell him all our reasons:
If he be leaden, icy, cold, unwilling,
Be thou so too; and so break off the talk,
And give us notice of his inclinations:
For we to-morrow hold divided councils,
Wherein thyself shalt highly be employ'd.
Glo. Shall we hear from you, Catesby, ere we sleep?
Cate. You shall, my Lord,
Glo. At Crosby-house, there shall you find us both.

Hastings not only refuted all the suggestions concerning the bastardy of Edward and his children; but assured Catesby, that he would with all his interest, and even his heart's blood, support the young princes against all their enemies. This declaration was immediately reported to the Protector, who being extremely desirous of engaging Hastings in his design, directed Catesby to try him once more, and even hint the project which was formed for the exclusion of his nephews. Catesby, in his second conversation, found him more than ever determined to oppose any enterprise that should be formed against his master's children; and Richard, for that very reason, devoted him to immediate death. He repaired in the morning to the council in the Tower, where he behaved with remarkable affability to the members; and after some stay withdrew, desiring them to consider their deliberations, and give the last orders touching the ceremony of the coronation, which had been too long delayed. In about an hour after his departure, he returned with a frowning aspect, biting his lips, and exhibiting all the marks of internal agitation.

"My lords," said he "what punishment do those deserve who have conspired against my life?"

The whole council was confounded at this question; and the Lord Hastings replied, in the name of the rest, that whoever was guilty of such a crime ought to be punished as a traitor.

"It is no other," cried Richard, "than that sorceress my sister-in-law, with her accomplices."

Before his hearers had time to recollect themselves from the fear and astonishment which this prelude produced, he bared his left arm, which was withered, and presented it to the council.

"Behold," said he, "what that sorceress, and the wretched Shore have done by the power of their incantations! they have reduced this arm to the condition in which you now see it; and the rest of my body would have shared the same fate, if, by the singular protection of heaven, their infamous practices had not been discovered."

These words redoubled their amazement and terror, as they well knew his arm had been always in that shrivelled condition; and as they were fully persuaded, if the Queen had formed any such design, she would never have communicated it to Jane Shore, who had been the concubine of her husband, and now lived on the same footing with the Lord Hastings, who was the Queen's professed enemy. This nobleman could not help expressing his doubts about the truth of the information, by saying, if they were guilty, they deserved to be punished.

"How!" cried the Protector, with great emotion, "dost thou answer me with an If, as if I had forged the accusation? I tell thee they have plotted against my life, and thou thyself art one of their accomplices."

So saying, he struck the table twice, and immediately the hall was filled with armed men: then, turning to Hastings, he said,

"I arrest thee for the crime of treason."

"Who, me, my lord!" replied that unfortunate nobleman.

"Yes, thee, thou traitor," exclaimed the Protector, and ordered him to be seized by the soldiers.

This arrest occasioned a tumult in the apartment, during which one of the soldiers attempted to cleave the head of Lord Stanley, with a battle-axe, on pretence of keeping the peace, but he missed his aim; and Stanley, by creeping under the table, saved his life at the expence of a dangerous wound. Nevertheless, he was arrested, together with the Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of Ely; but, as for Hastings, Richard was so bent upon his destruction, that he swore he would not dine, until his head should be severed from his shoulders; so that he had just time to confess himself to the first priest that could be found, and then was beheaded on a log of timber.

Richard, knowing how much Hastings was beloved by the citizens of London, thought it necessary to use some pretext for this precipitate execution, and sent a message to Lord Mayor Shaw, and the aldermen, desiring to see them immediately. In the meantime he and Buckingham cased themselves up in rusty armour; and when the magistracy of London repaired to the Tower, in obedience to his message, he told them that the Lord Hastings, and some others had conspired against his life. He said he had not been informed of their design till ten in the morning, when the proofs appeared so plain, that the king and council thought it absolutely necessary to execute Hastings without delay, as they understood a great number of people were ready to rise in his favour; that, in such a pressing emergency, he was fain to put on the first armour he could find, for the security of his person, and that he had sent for them to be witnesses of the truth, that they might inform the people, and prevent or appease the tumults which ill-designing persons might raise in the city. The Mayor and Aldermen saw through the pretext; they durst not, however signify their real sentiments, but promised to obey his orders, and withdrew. Immediately after this conference, a proclamation was published in the king's name, declaring, that as Lord Hastings had entered into a conspiracy to seize his majesty's person, and slay the protector and the Duke of Buckingham, that he might govern the realm according to his own pleasure, the King, for the prevention of this wicked design, had, by the advice of his council, punished him without delay: that no person was ever more deserving of the death of a traitor than Hastings, who had advised the late King to take so many fatal steps contrary to the liberty and privileges of the people; that he had been the conductor and companion of Edward's debauchery; and that he had spent the last night with Jane Shore, the accomplice of all his crimes, and of that in particular for which he suffered. This proclamation contained many other aspersions calculated to diminish the affection which the people had always expressed for Lord Hastings, and anticipate their compassion; but it did not produce the desired effect.

Shore, being apprehended and brought before the Council, the Duke of Gloucester accused her of having practised witchcraft, and entered into the conspiracy of Hastings, against his life. But she made her innocence appear so plain, that they could not, with any shadow of justice, condemn her upon this accusation. She was next, prosecuted for the irregularities of her life, which she could not deny, and being delivered to the ecclesiastical authorities, was condemned to do public penance in Saint Paul's, and to walk in procession before the cross, barefoot, half-naked, and a burning taper in her hand.

These executions and cruelties, without any form and process, together with the imprisonment of the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Ely, and the Lord Stanley, left the people no reason to doubt but that the Protector had a design upon the crown, and the whole kingdom was filled with consternation. This was a juncture at which he resolved to manifest his intention; but, as he desired to have the approbation of the people of London, he consulted with his confidant, the Duke of Buckingham, about means for procuring this advantage. They resolved to redouble their industry in persuading the people that the children of Edward were bastards, on the supposition that those whom their emissaries could not convince would be deterred from attempting to undeceive their neighbours.

Now, at this period there were resident in London two clergymen, Dr. Ralph Shaw, and Friar Pinker, Provincial of the Augustine Friars, both of high distinction as preachers. Bought over to the side of Gloucester, these personages were devoted, heart and soul to the task of instilling into the public mind the justice of his claim. Shaw was the Mayor's brother, and stood very high in the estimation of the tyrant.

Things having been all arranged, on an appointed day, Dr. Shaw preached a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, in which he not only enlarged upon Edward's previous marriage, with Elizabeth Lucy, which rendered his other children illegitimate, but also expatiated upon the bastardy of Edward himself, and his brother Clarence, who, he affirmed, were begotten by

persons whom the Duchess of York admitted to her bed in the absence of her husband. Then he made allusion to the Duke of Gloucester, whom he represented as the true son of York, whom he perfectly resembled in his features as well as in his virtues, and poured forth an extravagant panegyric of Richard, during which the latter intended to have presented himself to the people in hope that, moved by the eloquence of the preacher, they would have saluted him as King. The Duke, however, did not arrive until the doctor had exhausted his encomium, and began to discuss another subject. Nevertheless, seeing the Protector approach, he repeated his praise with the most fulsome exaggeration, while Richard walked through the crowd to his place. But, instead of hearing the acclamation of "Long live King Richard!" he saw the audience hang their heads in profound silence, detesting the venality of the preacher, who forfeited all his popularity by this shameful prostitution of his talent, and concealed himself in retirement, where, according to Stow, he soon died of sorrow and remorse.

Shaw's sermon being so unfavourably received, the Duke of Buckingham, who was famed for his elocution, undertook to harangue the people on the Tuesday following at Guildhall. There the aldermen and council being assembled by the Lord Mayor, the Duke resumed the topics which Dr. Shaw had handled so unsuccessfully. He told them that the Lords and Commons of the kingdom had declared that no bastard should sit upon the throne of England, and insisted upon the crown being adjudged to the Duke of Gloucester, the only son of the late Duke of York, He said there was reason to fear that magnanimous prince would reject the offer, but he hoped that if all the people, especially the citizens of London, would unite in their solicitations, Richard might be persuaded to bear the weighty burden of government, which was too heavy for an infant's shoulders. He therefore desired, in his name, and that of the council, they would declare their opinion; and here he paused, in expectation of hearing them exclaim, "King Richard! King Richard!" but, to his great surprise, an universal silence prevailed. He repeated his harangue

with some variation, and still they continued mute and melancholy. He then expressed his displeasure to the Mayor, who told him that the people were not accustomed to be harangued by any person but the Recorder, who was the city orator. Thomas Fitzwilliams, the personage who filled that office, being desired to speak on the same subject, recapitulated all that the Duke had said, and concluded with desiring they would answer, positively, whether or not they would have the Duke of Gloucester for their king. A confused murmur ran through the multitude, and some of the Duke's domestics, having insinuated themselves among the crowd, cried, "Long live King Richard!" A few burghers, who had been previously corrupted, joined in this exclamation; and the apprentices and populace who stood at the gate, threw up their caps in honour of the Duke of Gloucester. Buckingham, commanding silence, told them he was rejoiced to find his proposal met with such universal approbation, and desired they would meet him next day at the same time and place, that they might go together and present an humble supplication to his highness, beseeching him to mount the throne, and govern the people as his subjects.

The citizens were accordingly dismissed for that day.

Shakspere has pourtrayed, with extraordinary fidelity, such an interview as might be supposed to have taken place with Buckingham and Richard, after the former's address to the crowd:—

Glo. What say the citizens?
Buck. Now by the holy mother of our Lord,
The citizens are mum, say not a word.
Glo. Touch'd you the bastardy of Edward's children?
Buck. I did; with his contract with lady Lucy,
And his contract by deputy in France:
The insatiate greediness of his desire,
And his enforcement of the city wives;
His tyranny for trifles; his own bastardy,
As being got your father then in France;
And his resemblance being not like the duke.
Withal, I did infer your lineaments,
Being the right idea of your father,
Both in your form and nobleness of mind:

Laid open all your victories in Scotland,
Your discipline in war, wisdom in peace,
Your bounty, virtue, fair humility;
Indeed, left nothing fitting for your purpose
Untouched, or slightly handled, in discourse.
And when my oratory grew toward end,
I bade them that did love their country's good
Cry—"God save Richard, England's royal king!"
Glo. And did they so?
Buck. No, so God help me, they spake not a word:
But like dumb statues or breathing stones,
Star'd at each other, and looked deadly pale,
Which when I saw I reprehended them;
And asked the mayor, what meant this wilful silence:
His answer was, the people were not used
To be spoke to but by the recorder.
Then he was urged to tell my tale again;—
"Thus saith the duke, thus hath the duke inferred;"
But nothing spoke in warrant from himself.
When he had done, some followers of mine own,
At lower end o' the hall, hurl'd up their caps,
And some ten voices cried, "God save king Richard!"
And thus I took the vantage of those few,—
"Thanks, gentle Citizens, and friends," quoth I;
"This general applause, and cheerful shout,
Argues your wisdom, and your love to Richard;"
And even here brake off, and came away.
Glo. What tongueless blocks were they! Would they not speak?
Will not the mayor then and his brethren come?
Buck. The mayor is here at hand: intend some fear;
Be not you spoke with but by mighty suit:
And look you, get a prayer-book in your hand,
And stand between two churchmen, good my lord;
For on that ground I 'll make a holy descant:

On the morrow, Buckingham, with the Mayor, Aldermen, and a multitude of the Protector's adherents, repaired to Baynard's Castle,*

* This castle, which gives name to one of the wards of the City, stood on the banks of the Thames, and was originally built by one Baynard, a soldier of fortune, who came over with William the Conqueror. The old castle was destroyed by fire, in 1428, after which it was rebuilt by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. At his decease, Henry the Sixth gave it to Richard, Duke of York, who resided here, with his armed followers, to the number of 500, during the important convention of the great men of the nation, in 1458, the fore-runner of the civil wars, of which a faint view is afforded in the text. Besides having been the residence of Richard the third, his vanquisher Henry the Seventh, made it also the place of his occasional sojourn.

where he resided, in order to present an address, in the name of the three estates, declaring the bastardy of Edward's children; and entreating him to assume the crown, which was his true inheritance. Richard pretended to be terrified at such a concourse of people, as if he had thought they came with some sinister design upon his person; and when at length Buckingham prevailed upon him to give them audience, he came forth with all the marks of terror and distrust. He affected great surprise at their proposal, which he declined, observing, that he loved his brother's children above all the crowns in the world: though he considered their address as a proof of their affection, which he should never forget. He exhorted them to live quietly under the sovereign to whom they owed their allegiance, and he promised for himself, that he would, to the best of his power, advise his nephew to govern in such a manner as to render his people flourishing and happy. The Duke of Buckingham, appearing very much dissatisfied with this answer, declared that the people were unanimously resolved, that none of Edward's children should sit upon the throne; and that, if he would not receive the crown, they should be obliged to offer it to some other person. This declaration softened the Protector into compliance. He told them, that since they were determined to reject the children of Edward, he was contented to accept the crown, which was undoubtedly his lawful inheritance, though he received it with more pleasure as the free gift of a free people. This condescension in Richard was applauded with loud acclamations. Next day, he repaired to Westminster Hall, where, placing himself in the royal seat, he made a speech to the audience, and gave the judges strict charge for the due administration of justice.

The coronation of the new monarch, under the title of Richard the Third, took place in the course of a brief space. At this ceremony the subject of our notice acted as cup-bearer, and took a very prominent part in the after proceedings.*

* The Mayor of Winchester seems also to have claimed the office of cup-bearer on this occasion. The following letter to the Duke of Norfolk, High Steward, will show the anxiety of the Londoners to preserve their

During the remainder of his term of office, Shaw showed himself as the complete sycophant of Richard. Perhaps, indeed, it would have been difficult for an individual placed in the position which he occupied, to have comported himself so as to have avoided all such disgraceful imputations.

With respect to the subsequent events of Shaw's life, no particulars have descended to us.

ancient right first exercised by Henry Fitz-Alayne, first Mayor of London, at the coronation of Richard I. in 1189.

To the Right High and Mighty Prince the Duke of Norfolk, Seneschal of England.

"Shewen under your good and gracious lordship, the mair and citezeins of the citee of London, that where, after the liberty and commendable customes of the said citee, of time that no man's mind is to the contrary, used, enjoyed, and accustomed, the mair of the said citee for the time being, by reason of the office of mairalty of the said citee, in his own person, oweth of right and duty to serve the kyng our souvereign lord in the day of his ful noble coronation, in such place as it shall please his highness to take his spices, and the same cup, with the kevering belonging thereunto, and a layer (ewer) of gold, the said mair to have, and with him to bear away at the time of his departing, for his fee and reward.

"And also that divers other citezeins, that by the said mair and citee shal thereto be named and chosen, owen of right by the same custom, at the same day to serve in the office of butlership, in helping of the chief butler of England, to the lords and estates that shall be at the said coronation, as well at the table in the hall at meat, as after meat in the chamber.

"Beseeching your said lordship, that Edmund Shaa, now mair, and other citezeins of the citee aforesaid, to the said office and service now chosen, whose names, in a schedule hereunto annexed, be specified, may be admitted to do the same service, as their predecessors, mairs, and citezeins of the said citee, in case semblable, have used in days past

"Also the said mair and citezeins praying, that they may sit, in the day of the said coronation, at the table next the cupboard, of the left side of the hall, lykes as of late tyme it hath been used and accustomed; and that the said mair may have and enjoy the said fee and reward, according to the dutie."

Which privilege was confirmed, by admitting the mayor and citizens to officiate at the coronation, according to their ancient rights and immunities.

The names of the citizens nominated by the common-council on this occasion to represent the city, were, Henry Cole, goldsmith; John Tote, mercer; William Sandes, grocer; William Sparke, clothworker; John Swane, cissor, *i. e.* taylor; Thomas Ostriche, haberdasher; William Mariner, salter; Richard Knight, fishmonger; John Pasmer, pillipar, *i. e.* skinner; Thomas Bretayn, ironmonger; and Roger Ford, vintner.

Wearied with the cruelties of the usurper, the nobles of the country plotted his destruction, and after allowing him possession of the throne for the space of two years, invited over Henry, Earl of Richmond, to try his fortune in the field, against Richard. The head of this confederation was the Duke of Buckingham, who had raised Richard to power, but who, being disappointed in his expectations of reward, now evinced in his opposition as much zeal as he had done formerly in his support. Being seized, however, he was put to death, when the issue was just at hand.

The fate of England was decided on the 22nd of August, 1485, on the field of Bosworth, in Leicestershire.

There are sounds of trumpets, and warlike instruments, the neighing of steeds, wild outcries, a "confused noise, and garments rolled in blood:" and men are swept by the sword from the face of that earth, which must otherwise, in the common course of events have been closed over them in a few short years. Here came the intrepid Richard, in the thirty-third year of his age, a veteran, and, hitherto, a conqueror. When a youth of eighteen, he had commanded the whole van of King Edward's army, at the battle of Barnet, against the renowned Earl of Warwick, and bore down all before him; two of his squires being killed on that day, fighting by his side. Here, to oppose him came the Earl of Richmond, utterly ignorant of the art of war, and, till the previous month, a wandering outcast, in a foreign land, which he left to engage in his desperate undertaking, with an armament so wretched and contemptible, as to excite no other feelings in the spectators than pity and derision.

Within the previous thirty years, twelve battles had been fought between the factions of York and Lancaster, in which more than one hundred thousand English perished by the hands of their fellow-countrymen. Here, then, it was decreed, that the last of these unnatural and sanguinary conflicts should take place. Awhile, it raged with fury, and victory seemed uncertain, there was a swaying to and fro, among the warriors, as either party seemed for an instant to acquire the advantage. Anon,

there came a whisper of treachery, and movements of doubtful import took place. Then a shout arose, and they pointed to where Richmond stood, in the midst of his steel clad array.

It was the first time that Richard had beheld his antagonist. His dauntless heart swelled within him at the sight, and his eyes flashed as those of the hungry lion, thirsting for the blood of his prey. Brief was the pause. "Let true knights follow!" he exclaimed, "or I alone will try the event;" and, with an impetuosity like that of the wild boar, which animal he had chosen for his crest, he rushed amid the thickest of his foes. With the rapidity of lightning, his sword struck down Sir William Brandon, the standard-bearer, and his arm had hurled the proud ensign of his enemy to the earth. If valour might atone for crime, the memory of Richard would be spotless. Onward he pressed, and the brave fell before and around him. A firmer heart than Henry possessed, might have quailed at such a moment. It is said that he retreated, while the unfortunate king after performing "more wonders than a man," was hemmed round by a multitude, and fell covered with wounds.

Thus, after a brief struggle of less than two hours, ended the battle of Bosworth Field, and with it terminated the long-contested and bloody strife between the rival roses.

On the 28th of August, 1485, the magistrates of London, in their scarlet robes, accompanied by the chief citizens, met the new king, Henry the Seventh, at Highgate; when having conducted his majesty to St. Paul's, he paid his devotions, and retired to Lambeth Palace.

This year the privileges of the citizens were menaced by their own magistrates in a very extraordinary act of common council, which enjoined them under the penalty of a hundred pounds, not to carry any goods or merchandize to any fair or market within the kingdom for seven years. This, however, was so highly resented by the legislature, that the next year it was repealed in parliament; and the citizens were empowered to carry on their commerce as usual, with the penalty of forty pounds upon any one who should molest them in their trade.

The year following the mayoralty of Shaw, namely, 1484, London was desolated by a plague. So virulent was the disease in its course, that the brief space of twenty-four hours was sufficient to bring it to its crisis. Of this dreadful malady two lords mayors died successively, during their respective terms of office: Thomas Hill, who had been the colleague of Shaw in the shrievalty in the year 1475, and John Stocher, who had been elected on Hill's decease. One of the sheriffs also was cut off, besides a great number of the wealthiest and most influential citizens.

ROBERT FABYAN,

(ALDERMAN.)

THE history of Robert Fabyan, author of the celebrated work entitled "The New Chronicles of England and France," presents us with the rare instance of a citizen and merchant, in the fifteenth century, devoting himself to the pleasures of literature. Perhaps, indeed, the redoubted father of English travellers, Sir John Mandeville, who speaketh of the "wayes of the Holy Land towarde Jerusalem, and of the Maruyles of Ynde, and of other dyverse countries," is the only parallel to Fabyan whom we find in the history of adventurous enterprise. The one leaves his native land to traverse and explore the sacred scenes of Palestine, not indeed from any of that chivalrous feeling of indignation against the followers of Mahomet, which led the devotees of crusading fanaticism so far from home, but to identify with Gospel narrative the actual reality of existing circumstance: the other bids adieu to ledgers and day-books, and devotes himself to the composition of a work, which, for ingenuity and research, owns no superior in the republic of letters.

Of the personal history of Fabyan but few notices have reached us. There was nothing remarkable in his descent, and, except that he faithfully discharged the duties appertaining to him as an Alderman of the City of London, it does not appear that he made much figure in public life. He belonged to the Worshipful Company of Drapers. From his will, it appears that his father's name was John Fabyan; and there is reason to believe that his family

were people of substantial respectability in Essex. Stephen Fabyan, one of his ancestors, held considerable property at Halsted, in 1404, and afterwards became possessed of the manor of Jenkins. Several branches of the family were also settled at Coggeshall.

Bishop Tanner, in his elaborate work "Bibliotheca Britannico Hibernica," says he was born in London. At what period he became a member of the Drapers' Company cannot now be ascertained. Their registers would probably have furnished a clue to guess at the exact time of his birth, but the hall of that respectable body has been twice destroyed by fire, and they have no documents which reach beyond the year 1602. From records in the City archives, however, it appears he was Alderman of Farringdon Without: in 1493, he served the office of Sheriff: and in the registers which go by the name of the "Repertory," a few scattered memoranda are preserved of the part which he occasionally took, at a period somewhat later, in public transactions. On the 20th of September, 1496, in the mayoralty of Sir Henry Colet, we find him "assigned and chosen," with Mr. Recorder, and certain commoners, to ride to the King, "for redress of the new impositions raised and levied upon English cloths in the Archduke's land." This probably alludes to the circumstance of Phillip, to whom the Emperor Maximilian had resigned the Low Countries the year before, exacting the duty of a florin upon every piece of English cloth imported into his dominions, but from which he desisted in the articles of agreement signed by his ambassadors in London, July 7th, 1497.

In 1498, the thirteenth year of Henry the Seventh's reign, we find him an assessor upon the different wards of London, of the fifteenth which had been granted to the king for the Scottish war. In 1502, on the pretext of poverty, he resigned the Alderman's gown, not wishing to take the Mayoralty; and probably retired to the mansion mentioned in his will. That he was opulent at this period cannot be doubted, but he seems to have considered that the expences of the chief magistracy were too great, even at that time, to be sustained by a man who had a numerous family. He orders

the figures recorded in his will, of sixteen children in brass, to be placed upon his monument. Stowe in his "Survey of London," gives the English part of the epitaph on Fabyan's tomb, from the church of St. Michael, Cornhill, and says he died in 1511, adding that his monument was gone. Bale, who places Fabyan's death on February 28th, 1512, is probably nearest to the truth, as his will, though dated July 11th, 1511, was not proved till July 12th 1513, which, according to the ecclesiastical computation, would be somewhat less than five months after the supposed time of his death.

The "New Chronicles of England and France," which has down the name of Fabyan to modern times, is regarded by the historian as the most credible of the early historical works produced in this country.

From several passages in his history, it is evident Fabyan was conversant in French, and no layman of the age is said to have been more skilled in the Latin language. With these accomplishments, with great opportunities, and with a taste for poetry, he endeavoured to reconcile the discordant testimonies of historians; adding the fruits of personal observation in the latter and more interesting portion of his "Chronicle." His poetry, indeed, is not of a superior cast. Mr. Warton, in his "History of English Poetry." considered the "Complaint of King Edward the Second" to be the best of his metres; but observes that it is a translation from a Latin poem attributed to that monarch, but probably written by William of Wyncestre. "Our author's transitions," he adds, "from prose to verse in the course of a prolix narrative, seem to be made with much ease, and when he begins to versify, the historian disappears only by the addition of rhyme and stanza." Fabyan, like the old chroniclers in general, for fear of neglecting some important facts, went beyond the age of historical certainty in his details. He divides his "Chronicles" into seven portions, giving a copy of verses as an epilogue to each, under the title of "The Seven Joys of the Blessed Virgin," the first six portions being his history from the landing of Brutus to the Norman Conquest.

The seventh extends from the Norman Conquest to his own time.

Our author in ascribing the foundation of Britain to Brutus, follows that most fabulous old chronicler, Geoffrey of Monmouth. According to this worthy, Brutus, a lineal descendant of Æneas, son of the Trojan King, Priam, and grandson of Jupiter by his daughter Venus, landed about the year of the world 2859 (or 1008 years before the nativity of Christ,) in the neighbourhood of the spot where the town of Plymouth now stands, and gave our island the name of Britain, instead of Albion, by which it had been previously distinguished. Four years afterwards, Brutus built the City of London, calling it Troy-novant, (new Troy) or Trinovantum. This tale, although in the words of Stowe, "It bee not of sufficient force to drawe the gayne-sayers," was formerly esteemed of great validity by our ancestors; so high especially, was the credit of the latter part of it, that in a memorial presented to Henry the Sixth, in the early part of his reign, and now preserved among the records in the Tower, it is advanced as evidence of the "great antiquity, precedency, and dignity of the City of London, even before Rome."

That Fabyan was a little tinged with superstition must be allowed; but he was no great favourer of the monastic institutions. His observations on some of the miracles related in his history are too pointed to be mistaken. On the preservation of the holy oil at Rheims from the time of St. Remegius, he remarks: "To this report every man may give credence as hym lyketh. For I fand not this wryten in the Gospell, nor yet in no booke of Holy Scripture." He makes a similar observation on the supposed vision of Richard, the third Duke of Normandy, adding, that "Antonius, archbishop of Florence, when he reherseth anything like narrations which he thinketh somewhat doubtfull, he joyneth these words, and saith *pium est credere.*" In another place, he says at once, "which is for folys (fools) to believe." Nor is he backward in pointing out the partiality of Robert Gaguin (the author whom he principally follows in the French history) to his native country. A manuscript of the second volume of Fabyan's "Chronicles" is

preserved in the library which formerly belonged to Sir Robert Cotton, now in the British Museum. It wants unfortunately several leaves towards the close, but is supposed to have originally been continued lower than the first printed copy. Stowe, in the collections which he made for his "Survey," speaks of a continuation by Fabyan himself, as low as the third year of Henry the Eighth; "which boke, (he adds) I have in writin hand." It is not improbable that it might have gone from Stowe's collection to that of Sir Robert Cotton. Two other manuscripts are said to be in existence: one in a private library in Warwickshire, and another in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

This work was not printed during the lifetime of the author. The first edition was published by Pynson, in the year 1516, and appears to have been edited by that individual himself. Instead of a title it gives the arms of Henry the Eighth, crowned, sustained from below by a dragon and a greyhound. Above the crown is a rose supported by angels with scrolls. That on the left bears these words: *Nase rosa Virtutes de Caelo missa sereno.* That on the right: *Eternum florens regia sceptra feret.* The same device is repeated on the other side of the leaf, and again at the beginning of the second volume. The work throughout is adorned with prints of an exceedingly rude kind, but at least equal to those of that day. Brutus is habited in plated armour of the fifteenth century; and two wooden blocks, one looking to the right, the other to the left, appear to have produced all the portraits of all the kings both of England and France. The great rarity of this first edition is in part accounted for by Bishop Bale, the celebrated antiquarian, who in the second edition of his work "On the Celebrated Writers of England and Scotland," subjoins the following anecdote to the account of Fabyan:—Ejus Cronicorum exemplaria nonulla Cardinalis Wolsias in sue furore comburi fecit: quod cleri proventus purgues plus satis detexerit." Cardinal Wolsey, in his rage, caused every copy of his "Chronicles" to be burned, because he had unsparingly exposed the intentions of that worthy.

The obnoxious part of the "Chronicles" here mentioned must

have been the abstract of the Bill projected by the House of Commons, in the eleventh year of Henry the Fourth, for depriving the ecclesiastics of their temporal possessions. Bale's assertion is unsupported by any other writer. It is certain, however, that the second edition did not appear till after the Cardinal's death.

The following is the title of the first volume of the second edition:—

"Fabyan's Chronycle; newly prynted, wyth the Chronycles, Actes, and Dedes done in the tyme of the reyne of the moste excellent Prynce Kynge Henry the VII., father unto our most drad Souerayne Lord, Kyng Henry the VIII., to whom be all honour, reuere'ce and joyfull contynaunce of his prosperous reygne, to the pleasure of God and weale of his realme. Prenty'd at London, by Wyllyam Rastell, 1533. Cum Privilegio."*

In this edition the text of Pynson was principally followed, though with occasional variations; and one year (the twenty-fourth of Henry the Sixth,) entirely omitted, as well as the singular passage which asserts Edmund Crouchback to have been the eldest son of King Henry the Third.

The title prefixed to the second volume is as follows:—

"The Second Volume of Fabyan's Chronycle, conteyning the Chronycles of England and of Fraunce, from the begynning of the reygne of our most redoubted Souerayne Lord, Kynge Henry the VIII. Prenty'd at London, by Wyllyam Rastell, 1533. Cum Privilegio."

In 1542 appeared the third edition, with this title:—"The Chronycle of Fabyan, whiche he himselfe nameth 'Ye concordance of Hystoryes,' nowe newly printed, and in many cases corrected, as to ye dylygent reader it may apere. 1542. Cum Privilegio ad

* Rastell was the nephew of Henry the Eighth's Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas More, and editor of the English works of his illustrious relative, he was the most celebrated printer of his time, and works with his name attached, are distinguished for their accuracy, and beauty of typography. In the reign of Edward the Sixth, in common with many others, he was driven abroad by religious persecution; but in the first year of the reign of Mary, the persecution having changed sides, he returned to his native country.

impromendum solum. Printed for John Reynes, dwellynge at ye sygne of ye Saynte George, in Paul's Churche Yarde."

The title prefixed to the second volume was, "The Seconde Volume of Fabyan's Chronycle, conteynynge ye Chronycles of England and of Fraunce, from ye begynnynge of ye Reygne of Kynge Richarde ye fyrste, untyll ye xxxii. yere of ye reygne of oure moste redoubted Sovereygne Lorde, Kynge Henry ye VIII."

The alterations and omissions in this and the subsequent edition of 1559, are rather numerous. Within a year after the publication of the last edition, in 1533, the Papal authority in England had been overthrown, and the very name of Pope not only erased from the Service books, but forbidden to be used. The changes of the times gave but little hope of security to any printer, even of an old work, if it contained facts or doctrines incompatible with the views of Reformation. Among the more conspicuous of the omissions are "The Seven Joys of the Blessed Virgin," the verses commending the persecution of one Banby or Lollard; innumerable miracles, particularly where they were taken from the "Legend of Saints," or attributed to Popes; the envoy at the close of the first volume; the whole of the twenty-eighth year of Henry III.; all such passages as tended to encourage houses of religion, penance, pilgrimage, or the preservation of relics; and whatever related to offences done to the Church of Rome, the shrines of saints, the rejected sacraments, the burning of tapers, or the mass.

Nor must the omission of such passages be forgotten, in which any king, whether of England or France, is described as an "Enemy to holy religious places." Henry the Second is no longer called the honour of the Holy Church nor have we any notice of the acceptance of Hugh, Bishop of Chester, for having expelled the monks of Coventry, who "upon his death-bed axed of God, that, for a due and covenant penance, he might redeem that offence, by lying in the fire of purgatory, from the day of his death to the general day of doom." But the most remarkable of all the passages altered or omitted, are those which relate to the struggle between Henry the Second, and Archbishop Becket. The latter is no longer mentioned as a "Glorious Martyr" and a "blessed

saint," but as a "traiterous bishop." The greater part of his history is silently omitted, and the rest accommodated to the changes which had taken place in religion. Among the more minute alterations, the words "holy" and "blessed" are but rarely bestowed on saints and martyrs. In one place for "martyred," we have *murdered;* and in another, "shewing that many *virtues* have been rehearsed of the holy Virgin Edyth," we have *versus.* The word "Pope," is uniformly changed to *Bishop of Rome;* and notes are occasionally inserted, not only against the Papal authority, but against the "readiness, wretchedness, and ambition," with which it was exerted.

With respect to the occurrences worthy of note in the City of London, Fabyan is generally very minute and graphic. Under the fifty-third year of Henry the Third, anno 1269, he gives the following relation of a violent affray between the Goldsmiths' and Tailors' Companies:—"In this liii. yere in ye moneth of November fyll a varyaunce atwene the felysshyppes of Goldsmythes and Tayloures of London, whiche grewe to makynge of parties, so that with the Goldsmythes take partie the felysshep or craft of ——, and with the Tayloures held ye craft of Stayners; by meane of this moche people nyghtly gaderyd in the stretes in harneys, and at length, as it were prouyded, the thirde nyght of the sayd parties mette vpon the nombre of V.C. men on both sydes, and ran togyder, with such vyolence, that some were slayne, and many wonded. Then outcry was made, so that ye shyreffes, with strengthe of other comers, came to the ryddynge of theym, and of theym toke certayne persones, and sent theym vnto dyvers prysons; and upon the morrowe, such serche was made, yt the moste of the chief causers of that fray were taken and put in warde. Then vpon the Fryday folowynge saynt Katteryns daye, sessyons were kepte at Newgate by the Mayre and Lawrence de Broke iustice and other: where xxx. of the sayd persones were arregned of felony, and xiii. of theym caste and hanged: and for one Godfrey de Benyrley holpe to arme one of the sayde persones, he was also caste amonge the others." This contention between the companies lasted many

years, nor was it finally terminated till several persons of each party were expelled from the city.

Fabyan has been quoted by different historians, namely, Strype, Maitland, and Malcolm, as noticing London stone, in the doggrel rhymes which he has attached, by way of prologue, to the second volume of his "Chronicle;" yet, on referring to the original, it will be evident that London only was intended to be described. Rome, Carthage, and Jerusalem, says Fabyan, have been 'caste downe,' with 'many other cytyes,' yet

"Thys, so oldely founded,
Is so surely grounded,
That no man can confounde yt,
It is so sure a stone.
That yt is upon sette,
For though some have it threttе,
With manasses, grym and great,

Yt hurte had yt none:
Chryst is the very Stone,
That the Citie is set upon:
Which from all hys foon,
Hath ever preserved it.
By meane of dyvyne servyce,
That in contynuall wyse
Is kept in devout guyse,
Within the mure of yt."

The best edition of Fabyan's "Chronicles," is that published in 1812, and edited by the present principal librarian to the British Museum, Sir Henry Ellis.

During the early part of his reign, Henry the Seventh seems to have been in great favour with the Londoners. In 1487, when he returned with his queen from the defeat of Lambert Simnel, they met him at Highgate, and conducted him to hear *Te Deum* at Saint Paul's; and in 1488, when he applied to them for a loan of four thousand pounds, they not only advanced it with the greatest cheerfulness, but lent him, soon afterward, two thousand more.

During this year, the complaint which occurs in the rolls of

parliament, both in the reigns of Richard the Second and Henry the Sixth, concerning the offensive slaughterhouses in the neighbourhood of Newgate-street, was renewed; and it was ordained that no butcher should kill any ox or cow, within the walls of London, under the penalty of one shilling for each offence, as well as eight-pence for every other beast. The reason of the application seems to have been that the citizens of London considered the stench occasioned by the putrid blood and entrails, which were thrown into the channels of the street connected with the Fleet river, as a great encouragement to the dissemination of the plague.

In 1492, Henry's parliament, for the prosecution of the war with France, raised money by way of benevolence; when the wealthier of the inhabitants of London were assessed by the commissioners discretionally, and, including two hundred pounds each paid by the aldermen, raised a sum but little short of fifteen thousand pounds.

The king, it appears, was still anxious to retain their good opinion: on the twelfth day, 1494, he entertained the mayor, aldermen, and principal commoners at Westminster, with unusual grandeur; and detained them among the pleasures of the table almost till the breaking of the following day. But the advice of his court favorites, unluckily coinciding with his avaricious temper, led him soon afterward to acts of oppression which gradually lost him their affection. He resolved to raise money, which he did not want, by forfeitures upon penal laws, and began his exactions with Sir William Capel, one of the aldermen, who was condemned to pay a fine of £2700, but by great intercession procured its remission to £1600.

London, however, still continued faithful to its allegiance, and in 1497, when the Cornish men, who had even reached Blackheath endeavoured to excite a general revolt, the citizens not only erected batteries for the defence of the metropolis, but showed every disposition of attachment to the royal cause.

But Henry, much as he still expressed a kindness for the Londoners, looked upon them as a mine whence sums of enormous

magnitude might be occasionally drawn. In 1503, he obtained five thousand pounds for the confirmation of the city liberties, and four years afterward suffered Empson and Dudley, his chief favorites, to oppress some of the richer citizens, by the most cruel acts of rapacity and violence. They were accused of imaginary crimes committed in their offices, dragged to the Marshalsea, and confined without any legal process till they had redeemed themselves by large sums of money. The same fate it appears would have befallen others, had not Henry's death supervened.*

* Vide "Chronicles of the Mayoralty and Shrievalty," at the close of the volume.

SIR BARTHOLOMEW READ,

(LORD MAYOR).

SIR BARTHOLOMEW READ, whose name has been handed down to modern times in connection with several of the most remarkable events of the two concluding decades of the fifteenth, and the earlier years of the sixteenth centuries, was an individual of high distinction and importance in the City of London at the period alluded to. He was a member of the Goldsmiths' Company, and at his death made a bequest of a large amount of money to its funds.

We find him serving the office of Sheriff in the year 1498, during the mayoralty of John Percival. In the year 1502 he was himself elected to the civic chair which he filled with the highest honor to himself and benefit to his fellow citizens. The inauguration dinner, said to have been given in the Goldsmiths' Hall by Lord Mayor Read on his accession to office, was attended by upwards of a hundred persons of the highest rank in the kingdom. With respect to the circumstance of this sumptuous ceremony having taken place in the hall just mentioned, Stow insinuates a doubt as to the truth of the assertion:—"The Goldsmiths' Hall, a proper house but not large, and therefore to say that Bartholomew Read, goldsmith, Mayor in the year 1502, kept such a feast in this hall as some have fabled, is far incredible, and altogether impossible considering the smallness of the hall and number of the guests, which, as they say, were more than a hundred persons of great estate. For the messes and dishes of meats to them served, the paled park in the same hall

furnished with fruitful trees, beasts of venery, and other circumstances of that pretended feast, well weighed, Westminster Hall would hardly have sufficed, and therefore I will overpass it."

Perhaps Stow is correct in his insinuation that the inauguration feast of Read could not have taken place in Goldsmiths' Hall, since it contained no apartment spacious enough for the accommodation of such a company of guests, though his argument against the truth of the report concerning the magnificence of the feast falls to the ground.* Looking at the circumstances of the case it is indeed improbable that the Goldsmiths' Hall was so highly honoured on this important occasion, for we find that Bartholomew Read only a short time previous to his accession to office purchased Crosby House in Bishopsgate-street, in order that he might have a home befitting the splendour which he had determined should signalize his mayoralty.

During the year, Read had the honour to entertain and lodge at Crosby House an embassy, sent into England by Maxamilian, Emperor of Germany, on the occasion of the deaths of the Queen of Henry VII, (Elizabeth of York), and her son, Prince Arthur, which had taken place within a few months of each other. The embassy consisted of the Lord Casimir, the Marquis of Brandenburg, his cousin, accompanied with a Bishop, an Earl, and a great number of gentlemen, well apparelled. It was sent for three reasons; one to visit and comfort the King, being mournful and sad for the death of so good a Queen and spouse; the second, for the renovation of the old league and amity; the third, which was not apparent, was to move the King to marry the Emperor's daughter, the Lady Margaret, Duchess Dowager of Savoy. The first two objects succeeded; the latter failed.

Hitherto the History of London has been occasionally varied by the introduction of the habits and manners which prevailed

* The present hall of the Goldsmiths' Company, in Foster-lane, stands on the site of the edifice alluded to in the text. It had been founded for the use of the Company in 1407, by Sir Drewe Barentyne, Lord Mayor in 1398. It was destroyed in the great fire, September 1666, and the building that arose in its place a few years afterwards was only removed to make room for the present magnificent edifice.

at different periods; but perhaps no reign of English history tends to place the customs of its inhabitants in a stronger point of view, or to exhibit the difference between the past times and the present with more effect, than that of Henry the Eighth.

On the day he was proclaimed he retired to the tower, not only that he might avoid the tumultuary acclamations of the people, but to enjoy leisure to attend to business; and one of his first proclamations gained him great popularity among the Londoners, as it invited all, who had been injured by the too rigorous enforcement of antiquated penal laws in the late reign, to lay their complaints before certain commissioners, appointed not merely to hear but to redress their wrongs; while Empson and Dudley, the detested instruments of the vexatious prosecutions, were committed close prisoners to the tower.

At his coronation, on the 23rd of June 1609, the procession from the Tower, was remarkably magnificent; and a slight sketch of it will exhibit a picture of ancient costume — Henry himself was clothed in the richest manner; his coat was embossed or raised with gold, and the placards covered with diamonds, rubies, emeralds and pearls, and the bawdrick on his neck with balasses; while from his shoulders flowed a robe of crimson velvet furred with ermine. The trappings of his courser were of damask, embroidered with gold and edged with an ermine border. His attendant knights and esquires were in habits of crimson velvet; and the gentlemen and others of his chapel, with the officers of the household and servants, in scarlet.

When the cavalcade proceeded from the fortress, five barons of the cinque ports approached the king, and held over his head a canopy of state; and two persons rode before him, who represented the dutchies of Guienne and Normandy. The gentlemen who carried his cloak and hat were almost covered with embroidery; and their horses richly adorned with burnished silver, over which were thrown nettings of green silk and twist of gold, fringed with gold and damask. Sir Thomas Brandon, master of the horse, was habited in tissue embroidery with golden roses: he led the king's horse by a silken rein, whose harness and saddle

were studded, in the expression of the record, with "bullion gold, barr'd-wise." Nine children in blue velvet, embroidered with golden fleurs de lis, rode on coursers, whose trappings were respectively adorned with the royal titles of England, France, Gascoigne, Guienne, Normandy, Anjou, Cornwall, Wales, and Ireland; and over the robes of each hung a chain of gold. The queen's retinue of lords, knights, and esquires, were equally splendid in their apparel. Her majesty, clothed in white satin embroidered, with her hair flowing down her back, and a rich coronet upon her head, was seated in a chariot drawn by two white palfreys, with trappings of white and gold. And six persons of honour in white cloth of gold, with many ladies in chariots, closed the train.

To render the pomp of this procession more conspicuous, the streets through which it passed were railed, barred, and swept; the generality of the houses were hung with tapestry and arras, and the greater part of those on the south side of Cheapside covered with gold brocade. The companies of the city were arranged on stages from Gracechurch westward; and the goldsmiths had virgins clad in white placed before them, bearing branches with burning tapers; while numbers of priests, in the richest vestments of the altar, lined the way, some bearing crosses, and others censing the royal pair with silver censers.

Henry took considerable pains to rivet the attention of the Londoners, and the next year, by a stretch of authority, then not unfrequently encouraged, sacrificed the rapacious ministers of his father, to the resentment of the citizens, while their meaner instruments were pilloried, and led on horseback, with papers on their heads, through the city.

The city watch was then a military force of a peculiar kind, consisting of substantial citizens, with a magistrate of some dignity at their head, in every ward: twice a year, on the vigils of St. John Baptist and St. Peter and St. Paul, they had a solemn march: to see which, on the first of these, in 1510, the young king came incog. in the habit of a Yeoman of the Guard, and was so highly delighted with the sight, that he returned on the

eve of St. Peter, accompanied by his royal consort, and the principal nobility, and stopped at Mercer's Hall, Cheapside, to see the procession repeated. The march was begun by the city music, followed by the Lord Mayor's officers in party-coloured liveries, then the sword-bearer on horseback, clothed in armour, preceding the Lord Mayor, who was mounted on a stately horse, adorned with rich trappings, attended by a giant, and two pages on horseback; three pageants, morris dancers, and footmen. Next came the Sheriffs, preceded by their officers, and attended in like manner with the Mayor; then came a great body of demi-lancers, in bright armour, mounted, with the city arms upon their backs and breasts; a company of archers, with their bows bent, and sheaves of arrows by their sides, with pikemen, and halberdiers in corslets and helmets, and a large body of bill-men, wearing helmets and aprons of mail, closed the procession. The whole body, which consisted of about two thousand men, had between every division, a certain number of musicians, who were answered in their proper places, by the like number of drums, with standards and ensigns. This nocturnal march was lighted by nine hundred and forty cressets, which were large lanterns, fixed at the end of poles, and carried over men's shoulders, two hundred of which were furnished at the expense of the city, five hundred by the different companies, and the remainder by the city constables. The march began at the conduit in Cheapside, passed through Cornhill and Leadenhall Street, to Aldgate, and returned by Fenchurch and Gracechurch Streets, through Cornhill to Cheapside, while along the whole way, the houses were adorned with flowers and branches, occasionally interspersed with lamps.

We have indulged in this digression, in order to afford our readers some insight into the civic customs of three centuries ago. Richard Niccols, a poet of the sixteenth century, and author of a composition entitled "London's Artillery," has the following very beautiful lines, descriptive of the bonfires and cresset lights of the great festival of the summer solstice.

"The wakeful shepherd, by his flock in field,
With wonder at that time far off beheld,
The wanton shine of thy triumphant fires,
Playing upon the tops of thy tall spires."

The same poet, still apostrophising London, thus describes the imposing solemnity of the scene :

> "Thy goodly buildings, that 'till then did hide
> Their rich array, opened their windows wide,
> Where kings, great peers, and many a noble dame,
> Whose bright pearl-glittering robes did mock the flame,
> Of the night's burning lights, did sit to see,
> How every senator, in his degree,
> Adorned with shining gold, and purple weeds,
> And stately mounted on rich trapped steeds,
> Their guard attending, through the streets did ride,
> Before their foot-bands, graced with glittering pride,
> Of rich gilt arms."

But, that the reader may the more completely gather from these pages a history not only of the individuals whose acts have entitled them to the notice of posterity, but likewise of the times in which they lived, let us return from this episode to the period when Sir Bartholomew Read was a remarkable performer in civic affairs. It is a period of extraordinary interest in the history of London, both from the social improvements to which it gave birth, and from the intolerable oppressions to which the citizens were subjected at the hands of the monarch.

Few princes have been better acquainted with the arts of getting money than Henry the Seventh. His insatiable avarice converted every thing to profit. Hence the number of charters and other grants or confirmations of privileges by him. In 1503, the Company of Taylors and Linen Armourers obtained a new charter, by which they were re-incorporated under the name of Merchant Taylors; and, though Henry was a member of this Company, they were compelled to purchase this favour.

In 1505, the citizens were obliged to pay five thousand marks under pretence of a charter of confirmation of their rights and liberties. The principal objects of this charter were to restrain the encroachments of foreign merchants on the franchises of the citizens, and to regulate the qualifications of brokers. Its form was nearly similar to that of the 50th Edward the Third, and of 1st Richard the Second confirmed by Parliament. The king

also obliged the Company of Merchant Adventurers, notwithstanding they were legally recognised by Parliament in the act relating to their freedom fines, to have a new charter of confirmation of their privileges, and they are here called, for the first time, by the name of "The Fellowship of Merchant Adventurers of England." At the same time the Steel-yard Merchants were prohibited from carrying English cloths to the place of residence of the Merchant Adventurers in the low countries, and the Aldermen of the Steel-yard were compelled to enter into a recognizance of two thousand marks for the observance of this restriction.

But of all his artifices to accumulate riches none were more iniquitous than those founded upon the vigorous execution of obsolete and forgotten penal laws. With this view he employed expert lawyers, who searched into these laws, and also innumerable spies in all parts of the kingdom, to discover those who had transgressed them; and when laws were not found to answer his purposes, they were made, with a specious semblance of being for the public good, but in reality to increase the revenues of the crown. Sir Richard Empson and Edmond Dudley, two bold and unfeeling men, were the chief instruments employed by Henry in these nefarious transactions. Many, against whom accusations could not be supported, were thrown into prison, where they were detained without trial, until they were brought to offer large compositions for their deliverance; and, such as persisted obstinately in refusing to compound, were at length brought to trial before commissioners appointed by the king, who dispensed with juries and witnesses, and condemned in a summary way. An instance of this description is to be found in Sir William Capel, Lord Mayor of London; who was fined two thousand seven hundred pounds, and after a long struggle, and remaining several years in prison, was forced to compound for sixteen hundred pounds. Thomas Knesworth, Mayor of London, and his two sheriffs, suffered a long imprisonment, and at length obtained their deliverance by the payment of one thousand four hundred pounds. Christopher Hawis, Mercer and Alderman of London, was so harrassed by these inquisitors, that

he died of a broken heart. Sir Lawrence Alemore and his two Sheriffs were fined a thousand pounds, and committed to prison, but obtained their deliverance by the king's death.

The king, having amassed considerable wealth by such oppressions, endeavoured to remove the odium of the means employed to acquire it, by ostentatious acts of benevolence. Accordingly, we find that he endowed several religious foundations, and gave considerable alms to the poor; and, in 1507, discharged all the prisoners, in London, whose debts did not exceed forty shillings.

SIR JOHN REST,

(LORD MAYOR.)

JOHN REST, a member of the Company of Mercers, was in his day one of the most eminent citizens of the metropolis.

We find him serving the office of Sheriff, in conjunction with John Melbourne (Draper), in the year 1511, during the mayoralty of Roger Aichiley.

In the year 1516, he was raised to the civic chair, and received the honour of knighthood from Henry VIII. He kept his mayoralty in Crosby Place, which he seems to have taken, in order to give due splendour to the occasion.

The events of Sir John Rest's mayoralty, were more than usually stirring and important, but by far the most remarkable was that which has given the name of "Evil May Day," to the celebration of one of the festive sports of the first of May, 1517.

May Day, which in the olden times was consecrated both to the goddess Flora and the queen of Love, was the grand rustic holiday of our forefathers, and it was accustomed to be celebrated with joyous diversions and festive revelry. In the early dawn, from every town and village, the lads and lasses poured fourth in congregated throngs, "to fetch home the May" from the blossoming woodlands, a custom which Spenser thus poetically recorded in the fifth eclogue of his "Shepherd's Calendar:"

> Youthes folke now flocken in every where,
> To gather May-buskets and smelling breere;
> And home they hasten the postes to dight,
> And all the kirk pillers ere day-light,
> With hawthorne buds, and sweet eglantine,
> And girlonds of roses, and sops in wine.

Siker, this morrow, no longer ago,
I saw a shole of shepherds out-go,
With singing and showting, and jolly cheere ;
Before them yode a lusty tabrere,
That to the meynie a horn-pipe plaid,
Whereto they dauncen eche one with his maide.
To see these folkes make such jovisaunce,
Made my heart after the pipe to daunce.
Tho' to the greenwood they speeden them all,
To fetchen home May with their musicall :
And home they bringen, in a royal throne,
Crowned as king, and his queen attone,
Was Lady Flora, on whom did attend,
A faire flock of faieries, and a fresh bend
Of lovely nymphs. Oh, that I were there,
To helpen the ladies their May-bush beare !

So, likewise, the deliciously-warbling Herrick, in a mellifluous address to his slumbering Corinna, thus beautifully describes the harmless follies of a May morning.

Get up, get up, for shame, the blooming morne,
Upon her wings presents the god unshorne.
See how Aurora throws her faire
Fresh-quilted colours through the aire,
Get up, sweet slug-a-bed and see,
The dew-bespangled herbe and tree.
Each flower has wept, and bowed toward the east,
Above an hour since, yet you not drest,
Nay, not so much as out of bed ;
When all the birds have matteyns seyd,
And sung their thankfull hymnes ; 'tis sin,
Nay, profanation, to keep in ;
When, as a thousand virgins, on this day,
Spring sooner than the lark to fetch in May.

Rise, and put on your foliage, and be seen,
To come forth: like the spring-time, fresh and greene,
And sweet as Flora. Take no care
For jewels for your gowne or haire ;
Fear not, the leaves will strew.
Gemms in abundance upon you ;
Besides, the childhood of the day has kept,
Against you come, some orient pearls unwept.

Come, and receive them, while the light
Hangs on the dew-locks of the night;
And Titan, on the Eastern hill,
Retires himselfe, or else stands still,
Till you come forth. Wash, dress, be brief in praying;
Few beads are best, when once we goe a Maying.

Come, my Corinna, come; and coming, marke,
How each field turns a street, each street a parke,
Made green, and trimmed with trees; see how
Devotion gives each house a bough,
Or branch; each porch, each doore, ere this,
An arke, a tabernacle is,
Made up of white-thorn, neatly interwove,
As if here were those cooler shades of love;
Can such delights be in the street,
And open fields, and we not see't?
Come, we'll abroad, and let's obey
The proclamation made for May;
And sin no more, as we have done, by staying;
But, my Corinna, come, let's goe a Maying.

There's not a budding boy or girl this day,
But is got up, and gone to bring in May.
A deale of youth, ere this, is come
Back, and with white-thorn laden home,
Some have dispatcht their cakes and creame,
Before that we have left to dreame;
And some have wept, and wooed, and plighted troth,
And chose their priests, ere we can cast off sloth;
Many a green gowne has been given,
Many a kisse, both odd and even;
Many a glance, too, has been sent,
From out the eye, love's firmament;
Many a jest told of the keye's betraying,
This night, and locks pickt, yet we're not a Maying.

Come, let us goe, while we are in our prime,
And take the harmless follie of the time.
We shall grow old apace, and die,
Before we know our liberty.

Our life is short, and our dayes run,
As fast away as do's the sunne;
And as a vapour, or a drop of raine,
Once lost, can ne'er be found againe;
So, when or you or I are made,
A fable, song, or fleeting shade;
All love, all liking, all delight,
Lies drowned with us in endless night,
Then, while time serves, and we are but decaying,
Come, my Corinna, come, let's go a Maying.

But the jocund sports of this festival were not confined to the young and gay, even royalty itself partook of its diversions, and, as Stowe informs us, "every man, except impediment, would, in May Day in the morning, walke into the sweete meddowes, and greene woods, there to rejoice their spirits with the beauty and savour of sweet flowers, and with an harmony of birds, praysing God in their kind."

"I finde also," continues our chronicler, "that in the month of May, the citizens of London (of all estates) lightly in every parish, or sometimes two or three parishes joining together, had their severall Mayings, and did fetch in May-poles, with divers war-like showes, with good archers, morice dauncers, and other devices for pastime, all the day long, and towards the evening, they had stage-plays and bonefiers in the streets.

Of these Mayings, we read in the reign of Henry the Sixth, that the aldermen and sheriffes of London, beeing on May Day, at the Bishop of London's Wood, in the parish of Stebunheath, (Stepney) and having there a worshipful dinner for themselves and other commers, Lydgate, the poet, that was a monke of Bury, sent to them by a pursuivant, a joyful commendation of that season, containing sixteen staves in meter royal, beginning thus:—

Mighty Flora, goddess of fresh flowers,
Which clothed hath the soyle in lusty greene,
Made buds to spring with her sweet showers,
By influence of the sunne shine,
To do pleasaunce, of intent full cleane,
Unto the states which now sit here,
Hath Ver down sent her own daughter deare

Making the vertue that dured in the root,
  Called the vertue, the vertue vegetable,
For to transcend, most wholesome and most soote,
Into the top, this season so agreeable,
  The bawmy liquor is so commendable,
That it rejoiceth with his fresh moisture,
  Man, beast, and fowle, and every creature," &c.

In Henry the Eighth's reign, but more particularly in his early years, the May games were celebrated with justes, and splendid pageantry, and that far-famed chivalric outlaw, Robin Hood, presided as Lord of the May, supported by his boon companions, Little John and Friar Tuck, and having his fair maid, Marian, in his suite, together with numerous attendant morris-dancers and other revellers. Henry's was, at first, a court of social gaiety, and "pleasaunce," of which the annals of his day furnish abundant testimony.

About this time it appears "a great heart-burning and malicious grudge grew amongst the Englishmen of the City of London against strangers; and many of the artificers found themselves much aggrieved because such numbers of strangers were permitted to resort hither with their wares, and to exercise handicrafts, to the great hinderance and impoverishing of the King's liege people."

But it was not merely on account of the monopoly enjoyed in most instances by the foreigners, that the indignation of the London populace was chiefly excited. From the language of that veracious chronicler, Hall, who was alive at the period now under notice, it would appear that the insolence of the strangers was fully equal to the benefits they enjoyed.

"In this season," says the writer just referred to, "the Genowayes, Frenchemen, and other straungers, sayed and boasted themselfes to be in suche favoure with the kyng and hys counsaill, that they set naughte by the rulers of the citie. And the multitude of straungers was so greate about London, that the pore Englishe artificers coude skace get any living. And worst of all, the straungers were so proude, that they disdained, mocked,

and oppressed the Englishmen, whiche was the beginning of the grudge. For amonge all other thinges, there was a carpenter in London, called Willyamson, whiche bought two stock doves in Chepe, and as he was about to paye for them, a Frencheman toke them oute of his hande, and saide they were no meate for a carpenter. Well (saide the Englisheman) I have bought them, and now payed for them, and therefore I will have them. Nay (saied the Frencheman) I will have them for my lorde the ambassadour, and so, for better or worse, the Frencheman called the Englishemen knave, and went away with the stock doves. The straungers came to the Frenche ambassadour, and surmysed a complainte againste the poore carpenter, and the ambassadour came to my lorde maire, and saied so muche, that the carpenter was sent to prison; and yet, not contented with this, so complained to the kynge's counsail, that the kynge's commandement was laide on him. And when Sir John Baker, Knyht, and other worshipful persones sued to the ambassadour for hym, he answered, by the body of God, that the Englyshe knave shoude lose his lyfe, for he saied no Englishemen should deny that the Frenchemen required, and other annswere had they none."

These feelings were fostered by one John Lincoln, a broker, and Dr. Bell, a canon, both of whom openly preached against the strangers. The latter were consequently insulted, and some of them beaten in the streets; but upon their seeking the protection of the Lord Mayor, several of the most malignant of their assailants were sent to prison. "Then suddenly," says Stow, "rose a secret rumour, and no man could tell how it began, that, on May-day next following, the city would slay all the aliens; insomuch that divers strangers fled out of the city." The rumour reached the years of the King's council on May-day eve, and the attention of the Mayor and his brethren being immediately called to the circumstance, an assembly was held at the earliest possible hour to devise such measures of precaution as might appear necessary. The famous Sir Thomas More took an active part in these proceedings; which resulted in an order, delivered by each Alderman personally to his ward, that no man

after nine should stir out of the house, but keep his doors shut and his servants within until nine o'clock in the morning. Probably these precautions would have sufficed, but for the want of prudence in one of the Aldermen, who, returning from his ward just after the proclamation had been made, and finding two young men playing at bucklers in Cheap, with many others looking on, commanded them to leave off. One of them asked, why? Upon which the Alderman would have sent him to the Compter; but that formidable body, the 'Prentices of London, was at this time in full vigour: the cry of 'Prentices! 'Prentices! Clubs! Clubs! resounded through the street, and the alderman found safety only in flight. The mischief was now set on foot. The throng of excited people was swelled from all quarters; serving-men, watermen, and even courtiers, left their houses to join in the fray. The prisoners before mentioned were soon released. At St. Martin's Gate Sir Thomas More met them, and earnestly and kindly exhorted them to go to their respective homes. But at this moment the people within St. Martin's threw out stones and bats, and among several others, hurt one Nicholas Dennis, a sergeant-at-arms, who cried in a fury. "Down with them!" The doors and windows of the neighbouring houses were forced instantly, and the insides completely gutted. After that they ran into Cornhill, in the neighbourhood of which dwelt a Frenchman, with whom various other foreigners lodged. This man's house they likewise spoiled. Others went to different parts, broke open the strangers' houses, and committed similar excesses. Thus they were engaged till about three in the morning, when they began to withdraw. But the Mayor was on the watch, and at once captured and sent to the Tower and other places of confinement three hundred of their number, including women, and lads not above thirteen or fourteen years old. They were tried in the Guildhall on the 4th, and on the 7th John Lincoln and some twelve others were brought forth for execution. When the former had suffered, a respite arrived for the others. For what followed we must borrow the graphic pen of Hall, who most probably witnessed the scene he describes :—

"Thursday, the 22nd day of May, the King came into Westminster Hall, for whom, at the upper end, was set a cloth of estate, and the place hanged with arras: with whom went the Cardinal, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, &c. * * * The Mayor and Aldermen were there, in their best livery, by nine of the clock. Then the King commanded that all the prisoners should be brought forth. Then came in the poor younglings, and the old false knaves, bound in ropes, all along, one after another, in their shirts, and every one a halter about his neck, to the number of four hundred men and eleven women. And when all were come before the King's presence, the Cardinal rose, laid to the Mayor and commonalty their negligence, and to the prisoners he declared they had deserved death for their offence. Then all the prisoners together cried, 'Mercy, gracious lord, mercy!" Then the lords all together besought his Grace of mercy, at whose request the King pardoned them all. And then the Cardinal gave unto them a good exhortation, to the great gladness of the hearers. And when the general pardon was pronounced, all the prisoners shouted at once, and all together cast up their halters into the hall roof, so that the King might perceive they were none of the discreetest sort." Not the least interesting feature of this scene is the conduct of the rioters not apprehended. These sly fellows, keeping among the crowd, without, till they heard how matters were going, "suddenly stripped them into their shirts, with halters," and with penitent faces took their places among the other offenders, just in time to hear the pardon pronounced, The device succeeded, and some who would certainly have otherwise been dealt with hardly, as leaders in the affair, escaped.

SIR JOHN SPENCER,

(LORD MAYOR.)

Sir John Spencer, Lord Mayor of London, in the year 1594-5, is said to have been the wealthiest citizen of his time. So great, indeed, was his affluence that the appellation of the "Rich Spencer" was bestowed upon him by his fellow-citizens, and most appropriately, for he died worth nearly a million sterling.

He was a member of the Company of Mercers.

He served the office of Sheriff in the year 1584, in the mayoralty of Sir Edward Pullison.

England at this period was in a state of great concern at a threatened invasion from Spain. The Catholic powers of the Continent were continually forming schemes for annoying or dethroning Elizabeth; and Mary Queen of Scots, who, for politic reasons, was kept a close prisoner in England, was generally concerned in them. The king of Spain determined at length to make a decisive effort, commenced the preparation of a vast fleet, which he termed the Invincible Armada, and with which he designed to invade the English shores. So far had Elizabeth's apprehensions increased with respect to this expected invasion, that she thought it necessary to keep the nation prepared against any unforeseen or sudden attack. The navy was now put on a respectable footing, and the able-bodied male population throughout the whole country were disciplined to the use of arms. The citizens of London during the shrievalty of Spencer, at their own expense, sent five thousand men, completely armed, to encamp on Blackheath; at which place, they were several times reviewed by the queen. Soon after, also, the citizens sent a considerable

body of men completely armed, to the assistance of the Dutch against the Spaniards.

A circumstance which occured in the metropolis during the mayoralty of Spencer, will indicate the first discovery in London of a systematic training of youths in the art of theft. The city and neighbourhood, at this period, were so much infested with pickpockets and robbers that it was considered unsafe to walk the streets after nightfall. The authorities having taken the dangerous state of public morals under investigation, a regular school for the instruction of pickpockets, was discovered at Smart's Key, near Billingsgate and suppressed. The method of imparting this singular species of instruction, is said still to be practised in the training of the youthful mind, in the science of plunder. In the centre of the room was placed the figure of a man, clad in the habiliments of the period. In one of the pockets of the upper garment was placed a purse of silver, and small bells were affixed to various parts of the figure. The test of proficiency was, to pick the pocket, or take the silver out of the purse without gingling the bells.

In the year following and while Spencer was yet taking an important part in public affairs, the nation became more alarmed than hitherto at the vigorous preparations made by the Spaniards for the invasion of England. Elizabeth was now alert in forming the best measures for defence. She ordered all the commercial towns in England, to furnish ships to reinforce the navy; and on the 8th of March she sent the following letter to the Lord Mayor of London:—

"Trusty and well-beloved. We greet you well. Whereas upon information given unto us of great preparations made in foreign parts, with an intent to attempt somewhat against this our realm, we gave present order that our said realm should be put in order of defence; which we have caused to be performed in all parts accordingly, saving in the City of London. We, therefore, knowing your readiness, by former experience, to perform any service that well-affected subjects ought to yield to their prince and sovereign, do let you understand, that, within

our said city, our pleasure is, that there be forthwith put in readiness to serve for the defence of our person, upon such occasions as may fall out, the number of ten thousand able men, furnished with armour and weapons convenient; of which number, our meaning is, that six thousand be enrolled under captains and ensigns, and to be trained at times convenient, according to such further direction as you shall receive from our privy council, under six of their hands, which our pleasure is, you do follow from time to time, in the ordering and training of the said number of men. And these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant for the doing of the same. Given under our signet, &c."

This letter from the queen was followed by another from the privy council, to the same purport, both of which being laid before the Common Council, they unanimously agreed to grant the royal request, and that the Aldermen and Common Council should raise men in their several wards respectively. A few days elapsed, and the privy council sent another letter to the Lord Mayor, requesting him to have them ready to march at the shortest notice. This was not only complied with but on the 3rd of April, the Common Council granted a supply of fifteen of the largest ships in the river, and four frigates, which were immediately fitted out and supplied with all proper necessaries. These ships were afterwards augmented to the number of thirty-eight; the expense attending which, together with the ten thousand troops, was defrayed by the city, so long as they remained in her majesty's service. The number of troops raised in the several wards were levied in the following proportions:—

Farringdon Within	807	men
Aldgate	347	,,
Coleman Street	229	,,
Bassishaw	177	,,
Billingsgate	365	,,
Broad Street	373	,,
Bread Street	386	,,
Aldersgate	232	,,
Bridge	383	,,

Dowgate	384	men
Cornhill	191	,,
Castle Baynard	551	,,
Lime Street	99	,,
Cheap	358	,,
Queenhithe	404	,,
Farringdon Without	1264	,,
Cordwainers	301	,,
Tower Street	444	,,
Walbrook	290	,,
Vintry	364	,,
Portsoken	243	,,
Candlewick	215	,,
Cripplegate	925	,,
Bishopsgate	326	,,
Langbourn	349	,,

The zeal of the citizens of London in this and the following year contributed greatly to the security of the nation. It was by the influence, however, of the merchants of the metropolis that the independence of the country was chiefly maintained. While the king of Spain was busily engaged in forwarding his preparations for invasion, Thomas Sutton, (the immortal founder of the Charter-house) in conjunction with Sir Thomas Gresham and several others, among whom was the subject of our notice, found means to get all the Spanish bills of exchange protested, which were drawn on the merchants of Genoa to supply Philip with money for carrying on his preparations.

Alderman Spencer was raised to the Civic Chair at the close of the year 1594. The country was visited this year with a lamentable deficiency in the harvest. The wetness of the season advanced the price of wheat to three pounds four shillings per quarter, and grain of all sorts was so scarce, that stores of it were ordered by the city authorities to be laid up for the next harvest.

During the mayoralty of Sir John Spencer, the licentiousness of the London populace, which, for years had become more and more flagrant, proceeded beyond all limits. In association

with the city apprentices, whom they had persuaded to join them, they excited such repeated and alarming riots that it was thought necessary by Spencer to lay the case before the lord treasurer for her majesty's directions. In consequence of this application on the 4th of July, 1595, a proclamation was issued, in which her majesty appointed a provost martial, with power to apprehend all rioters and to punish them according to the rules of martial law. Sir Thomas Wilford, the provost martial, patrolled the city, with a numerous company on horseback, armed with pistols, and apprehended many of the rioters, whom he took before the justices appointed for their examination. On the 22nd of July, they were tried at Guildhall, under a commission of Oyer and Terminer; when five of them received sentence of death, and were executed two days afterwards on Tower Hill. Intimidated by the rigorous example thus set them, the courage of the mob became broken and peace was restored to the city.

An occurrence, also, which took place during the present year, connected with the affairs of the city is worthy of mention in this place. The office of recordership having become vacant, the appointment to which had always been vested in the corporation, the queen sent a letter to Sir John Spencer, informing him that she herself intended on the present occasion to fill up the vacancy, and desiring him to lay before her the names of such individuals as were to be nominated for the office. Alarmed at this extraordinary proceeding, the citizens suspecting it to be an attempt of the crown to deprive them of a vested prerogative, prudently nominated only one individual, Mr. James Altham, of Gray's Inn. With this nomination, Sir John Spencer sent a letter to the lord treasurer, in recommendation of this gentleman, as a resident of the city, and explaining the inconveniences arising from absenteeism; and concluding with his earnest hope that her majesty would be pleased to approve this nomination. It does not appear, however, that Elizabeth paid much heed to the request of the citizens on this occasion, for the name of John Crook, instead of that of Altham, appears on the city records, as having received the new appointment.

SIR WILLIAM CRAVEN,

(LORD MAYOR.)

William Craven, a celebrated Lord Mayor of London, and ancestor of the noble family of the same name, was born at Appletrewick, in the parish of Burnsall, in the Deanery of Craven, in Yorkshire. His parents were poor, and, as the learned topographer, Dr. Whittaker states, in his work entitled the "History of the Deanery of Craven," are said to have consigned him to a common carrier for his conveyance to London, where he entered into the service of a mercer and draper. Little, however, is known of the subsequent years of his early life, except that he was "first apprentice" in Watling Street. He was afterwards in business for himself in Leadenhall Street, and acquired great affluence by those old-fashioned qualifications of a citizen, industry and frugality.

Camden, in 1607, described him as "equestie dignitate, et senater Londinensis." In 1611, he was chosen Lord Mayor, and in the following year he "repaired and *butified*" (for so the word is spelt in the mouldering stone over the porch which records his generosity) his native parish church. His bounty was further commemorated by the following whimsical strain of eulogy, formerly inscribed on the walls of the same edifice:—

"This church of beauty, most repaired thus so bright,
Two hundred pounds did coste Sir William Craven, Knighte,
Many other workes of charitie, whereof no mention here,
True tokens of his bountie in this parish did appeare.
The place of his nativitie, in Appletrewick is seene,
And late of London citie Lord Mayor he hath beene;

The care of his worke, so beautiful and faire,
Was put to John Topham, clerke, by the late Lord Mayor,
Of that most famous citie of London, so brighte,
By Sir William Craven, that bountiful knighte;
Borne in this parish, at Appletrewick towne,
Who regarded noe coste soe the worke was well done."

By the will of this very worthy man, which bears date in July 1617, considerable property was bequeathed to the poor of different parishes, &c., and likewise £100 each to the hospitals of Christ, St. Bartholomew, Bridewell, and St. Thomas. He was buried with great pomp, in the church of St. Andrew Undershaft. The house in which he resided in Leadenhall Street, was the old East India House.

We have already mentioned Sir William Craven as the ancestor of the noble family which at the present day own the earldom of Craven. His eldest son, who was ennobled by Charles the Second, early acquired distinguished reputation as a soldier, under Henry, Prince of Orange, and the celebrated Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden. During the wars in the Palatinate, he was one of the gallant English volunteers that assisted Gustavus; and, at the storming of Creuternach, in February, 1632, (being then in his twenty-fifth year,) his determined bravery was a principal cause of the fortress being taken, after a sanguinary conflict of two hours continuance, in which all the English officers were wounded. In the first assault, the assailants were repulsed; in the second, Lord Craven, although wounded in the thigh by a pike, was "the very foremost man," and he admitted the enemy to surrender, when they called for quarter, without unnecessary bloodshed.

After the death of Gustavus, and when every chance of recovering the Palatinate was lost, his lordship entered into the service of the States of Holland, and he continued to serve them until the Restoration. Though he never took arms against the Parliament, he aided both Charles and his son with considerable pecuniary supplies, and also joined the exiled court at Breda. In consequence of this, and through a false affirmation that he had

stigmatized the Parliament by the name of "barbarous and inhuman rebels," all his estates and property in England were confiscated in March, 1650-1. The States-General interested themselves in his behalf, but he could obtain no redress until after the restoration. Charles the second, in March, 1664, conferred upon him the titles of Viscount Craven and Earl Craven, and on the death of Monck, gave him the colonelcy of the Coldstream regiment of foot guards. He died, on April 9th, 1697, in his eighty-ninth year, and was buried at Binley, near Coventry.

Lord Craven acquired great honour by remaining in London during the time of the dreadful pestilence in 1665, assisting to subdue its ravages, and to preserve order.* He likewise displayed the most commendable zeal in suppressing fires, which in in his days were of frequent occurrence among the wooden buildings of the metropolis; he was so soon upon the spot where a fire happened, that it was popularly said "his very horse smelt it out."

But a great distinctive feature in the life of Lord Craven was his attachment to the daughter of James the first, espoused to the Elector of Hanover, and afterwards Queen of Bohemia.

* Pepys, in his "Diary," mentions his seeing, at Sir Robert Viner's, two or three great silver flagons, with inscriptions, made as gifts of the king to such and such persons of quality as did stay in town the late great plague, for the keeping things in order. One of these was for Lord Craven, to whose personal activity the same writer thus incidentally alludes, when speaking of the pulling down of brothels in March, 1668, by the London apprentices: "Thence back to Whitehall, where great talk of the tumult, at the other end of the town, about Moorefields, among the 'prentices, taking the liberty of these holidays to pull down brothels; and Lord, to see the apprehensions which they did give to all people at Court, that presently order was given for all the soldiers, horse and foot, to be in arms, and forthwith alarmes were beat by drum and trumpet through Westminster, and all to their colours and to horse, as if the French were coming into the town. So Creed, whom I met here, and I, went to Lincoln's Inn Fields, thinking to have gone into the fields to have seen the 'prentices, but here we found these fields full of soldiers, all in a body, and my Lord Craven commanding of them, and riding up and down to give orders, like a madman."

Granger says, that when in the low countries she was called the "Queen of Hearts;" and Harte, speaking of the period when her husband, the Elector Palatine, was contending for Empire, affirms that her courage and presence of mind were so conspicuous, and her figure and manners so attractive,—though not to be called a consummate beauty,—that "half the army were in love with her." "The fierce Christian, Duke of Brunswick," he continues, "was her tractable slave; and so were young Thurn and Lord Craven. They all fought for her as much as for the cause, and Lord Craven, when he left the wars, all hope of recovering the Palatinate being cut off by the death of Gustavus, carried his enthusiasm so far, that he built the fine house of Hampstead Marshall, on the banks of the river Kennet, in Berkshire, a tract of country not unlike the Palatinate, nor inferior to many parts of it in beauty, as a sort of asylum for his injured princess."

It is commonly supposed that Lord Craven was privately married to the Electress; and "thus," remarks Dr. Whitaker, "the son of a Wharfedale peasant matched with the sister of Charles the first; a remarkable instance of that providence which, as the Psalmist says, 'raiseth the poor out of the dust, and setteth him among princes, even the princes of his people.'"

SIR RICHARD GRESHAM

(LORD MAYOR.)

With the name of Gresham is associated every thing that is great and noble in connexion with the mercantile affairs of the first city in the world; and in introducing that name amongst those whom we chronicle, we feel that we are truly becoming acquainted with one in every respect entitled to be ranked amongst the "Illustrious."

Sir Richard Gresham, the father of Sir Thomas Gresham, served the office of Lord Mayor in 1537-38, after having been Sheriff in 1531-32. Of his family, it may be said, that their earliest traces point them out as having derived their name from a small village in Norfolk, where it had settled for many generations. The heralds describe one John Gresham, who resided at Gresham during the latter part of the fourteenth century; but his son James is stated to have settled at Holt, a few miles distant from his native village. James Gresham was succeeded by his son John, who married Alice, daughter of Alexander Blyth, Esq., of Stratton, by whom he had four sons—William, Thomas, Richard (the subject of the present notice), and John. The honour of knighthood was conferred upon the two last-named by Henry VIII.; of the two elder brothers not much seems to be known.

Sir Richard Gresham was born at Holt, but brought up in London, where he was apprenticed to Mr. John Middleton, an eminent mercer, and merchant of the staple at Calais. In 1507, he was admitted to the freedom of the Mercers' Company.

Though occasionally engaged in Flanders, he pursued his business at home, where he attained, in succession, to the several honours of citizenship. That he was frequently employed in the service of the state, and was its accredited financial agent, is, however, certain; and he appears to have been one of those individuals of whose number were Sir John Hackett, John Hutton, and others, on whom Wolsey and Crumwell, as Prime Ministers, were accustomed to depend for foreign intelligence, and co-operation in working out their plans at home. Thus, in 1526, Richard Gresham wrote to the cardinal from Flanders, apprising him of an arrest of the English, and a general seizure of merchandise at Nieuport; and about the same time, we find him amongst his fellow citizens, supporting the demands of the crown with a degree of warmth which called forth the unqualified expression of their displeasure. Hall, in his Chronicles, says, that supplies were required to enable Henry VIII. to carry on the war with France; and Wolsey, after attempting some arbitrary impositions, which drove the Londoners very nearly into a state of rebellion, solicited a voluntary contribution of the mayor and aldermen. This they also refused to comply with, until they had communicated his request to the common council, who so indignantly rejected it, that the court moved for expelling Richard Gresham, John Hewster, and Richard Gibson, three of their members who ventured to speak in favour of the measure. On his death-bed, Wolsey spoke of Gresham as his "friend;" and whilst a prisoner in the tower, explained to Sir William Kingston that he was indebted to him in the sum of £200. This was in the year 1530.

In 1531, as we have stated, Richard became Sheriff of the City of London; and in October, 1537, was elected Lord Mayor. The dignity of the chief civic officer was at that time commonly augmented by the honour of knighthood, and, during his mayoralty, Gresham received that distinction. A letter which he wrote a few days after his election to the civic chair, is still preserved. It was addressed to Crumwell, on the occasion of the death of Queen Jane Seymour, an event which occurred a few days after she had given birth to Edward VI. It is as follows:—

"Myne humble dieuty rememberyd to your good lordeshipe, &c. Yet shall please you to untherstand, that by the commaundement of the Ducke of Northefolk, I have cawsyd xii c [1200] massys to be seyde, within the City of London, for the sowle of our moste gracious Quene. And whereas the mayer and aldyrmen, with the commenors, was lattely at Powlles, [St. Paul's,] and ther gave thanckes unto God for the byrthe of our prynce. My lorde, I doo thyncke yt when convenyent that ther shulld be allsoo at Powlles a sollem derige and masse; and that the mayer, alldyrmen, with the commeners, to be there, for to praye and offer for hyr grace's sowle. My lorde, yt shall please you to move the kynges highnes, and hys pleasser knowen in thys behelve, I am and shale be redy to accomplyche his moste gracious pleasser. As knowethe God, who gyve unto you goode helthe with long lyve.—From London, thys Thurssdaye, the viiith daye of November.

"My lord, yf ther be eny allmes to be gyven, ther ys many power pepyll within the cite.

"Your owne, at your lordeshepes commaundementes,

"Ryc. Gresham."

This letter merits preservation, were it only for the humanity which dictated the concluding sentence. But the charitable spirit of Sir Richard Gresham will best appear from the following very remarkable petition, wherein he prefers no selfish suit, but avails himself of his influence with the king to plead the cause of the afflicted and the friendless. It seems difficult whether most to admire the benevolence of the writer, the earnestness with which he presses his request, or the dexterity with which he avails himself of the arguments likely to have most weight with the king, and best calculated to secure a favourable result to his application. The letter is as follows:—

"Most redowted, puysant, and noble prynce; my most dradd, beloved, and naturall sovraigne lord: I, your pore, humble, and most obedient servaunt, dailly considerynge, and ever more and more perceyvyng by your vertuus begynnyngs, and charitable procedyngs in all your cawses, your persone and majestie royall

to be the elected and chosen vessell of God, by whom not alonely the very and true worde of God is, and shal be sett forthe, and accordyng to the trewghth and verytie of the same, but also to be he whom God hath constituted and ordeyned bothe to redresse and reforme all crymes, offences, and enormyties beying repugnant to his doctrine, or to the detryment of the common welthe, and hurt of the pore people, beying your naturall subjects; and forder, to foresee and vigilantly to provyde for the charitable reformacion of the same, whyche thynge hath, and yet dothe encorrage me, and also my bounden dewtie obligethe me, (in especiall beyng most unworthy your Levetenaunt and Mayer of your Cytie Royall of London,) to enforme and advertise your most gracious highnes of one thyng in especiall, for the ayde and comforte of the pore, sykk, blynde, aged, and impotent persons beyng not able to helpe theymselffes, nor havyng no place certen where they may be refresshed or lodged at, tyll they be holpen and cured of theyr diseases and syknes. So it is, most gracious lorde, that nere, and withyn the Cytie of London, be iij hospytalls, or spytells, commonly called Seynt Marye's Spytell, Seynt Barthilmewe's Spytell, and Seynt Thomas's Spytell; and the new abbey of Tower Hyll, founded of good devocion, by auncient faders, and endowed with great possessions and rents, onely for the releffe, comforte, and helpyng of the pore and impotent people, not beyng able to helpe theymselffes, and not to the mayntenaunce of chanons, preests, and monks to lyve in pleasure. Nothyng regardyng the miserable people liyng in every strete, offendyng every clene person passyng by the way, with theyre filthy and nasty savours. Wherefore may it please your marcifull goodness, (enclyned to pytie and compassion,) for the releffe of Cryst's very images, created to his own similitude, to order, by your high authoritie, as supreme head of this Chyrche of England, or otherwise by your sage discrecion, that your Mayer of your Cytie of London, and his brethern, the aldermen for the time beyng, shall and may from henssforthe have the order, disposicion, rule, and governance bothe of all the lands, tenements, and revenews apperteynyng and belongyng to the said hospitalls, or any of theym;

and of the ministers which be, or shal be withyn any of them. And then your grace shall facilie perceyve, that where now a small nombre of chanons, preests, and monkes be founde, for theyr own profitt onely, and not for the common utilitie of the realme, a great nombre of pore, nedy, sykke, and indigent persones shal be refresshed, maynteyned, and comforted, and also healed and cured of theyr infirmyties, frankly and freely, by physicions, surgeons, and potycaries, which shall have stipende and salarie onely for that purpose; so that all impotent persons not hable to labour shal be releved, and all sturdy beggars not wylling to labour shal be punyshed. For the whiche doyng, your grace shall not alonely merit highly towarde God, but show yourselffe to be more charitable to the pore than your noble progenitor, King Edgar, foundour of so many monasteryes; or King Henry the Thyrde, renewer of Westminster; or King Edward the Third, foundor of the new abbey; or Kyng Henry the Fyfte, foundor of Syon and Shene; but also shall have the name of conservatour, protectour, and defendour of the pore people, with their contynuall prayer for your helthe, welthe, and prosperitie long to endure.

"Your humble and most obedient Servant,

"Rychard Gresham."

This letter to the King, or petition, as it may be called, was, to a certain extent, favourably received by Henry, who granted its prayer on behalf of the city hospitals; and the grant was afterwards confirmed by Edward the Sixth. But the letter of Sir Richard Gresham, which is best known, and has been most frequently quoted, is that in which he declared his anxiety to erect a bourse, or exchange, in Lombard-street, for the convenience of merchants, who, at that period, were accustomed to assemble twice every day in the open street, where they were exposed to all the inclemency of the weather. This project, so often unsuccessfully mooted, Sir Richard seems to have had much at heart. He had visited Antwerp, where a bourse had newly been erected, and in 1537 had submitted to Cromwell (then Lord Privy Seal) a design for a similar edifice, which he was bent on

seeing constructed at home. Before retiring from his mayoralty, in 1538, he made another effort in furtherance of his favorite project, by calling the circumstance to his lordship's remembrance, and in this letter, after referring to the plan which he had previously submitted, he says, "I doo supposse yt wyll coste ii M. *li* (£2000) and more, wyche shal be very beautyfull to the citie, and alsoo for the honour of our soveraygne lord the kinge." The letter is dated in July, 1538, and Sir Richard expressed his ability to collect £1,000 for the furtherance of his object, before his term of office expired, on condition that he could obtain "sertyn howssis in the said strette, belongyn to Sir George Monnocks,"—a consummation which he could not accomplish. With Sir Richard Gresham, however, rests the honour of having originally projected the "goodely bursse," which his son was happily possessed of the means, as well as the inclination, thirty years later, to construct. From the Chronicles of Grafton, it would nevertheless appear, that though thus unsuccessful in his favourite project, Sir Richard did obtain for the merchants permission to exercise the privilege of exchanging, without restraint; an advantage of which they had been, at a former period, deprived by royal proclamation, and which, says the authority from whom we quote, "they could no more be without, than the ships in the sea can be without water."

Sir Richard, as we have said before, was an accredited financial agent of the state, and was frequently employed in its service, as is to be seen from the state correspondence of the period in which he lived. He appears, indeed, to have studied the road to royal favour, by acceding a willing acknowledgment of Henry's ecclesiastical supremacy; nor does he seem to have been one who at any time opposed himself to the mandates of the imperious monarch. In 1532, it became his duty, as sheriff, to receive into his custody, and commit to Newgate, James Bainham, Esq., a Protestant gentleman, of the Temple, who suffered martyrdom in Smithfield, on the 30th of April, and in 1540, he was in the commission, under Bishop Bonner, for persecution upon the six articles, a commission which Foxe calls "the whip with six

strings." In all his proceedings, at this period, "the king's pleasure" seems to have been the rule of his life, and whilst it is but charitable to ascribe the harsher features of Sir Richard's character to the intolerant spirit of the times in which he lived, it must be admitted that the City of London had not previously possessed a greater benefactor.

Sir Richard Gresham died at Bethnal Green, where he generally resided. His death is stated by those who have good evidence of the fact, to have taken place on the 21st of February, 1548-9, most probably the latter year. He was buried in the church of St. Lawrence Jewry, the coat of arms which had been granted to him during his mayoralty, being placed over his tomb. The family historian (Barrow) tells us that Sir Richard was twice married, first (in 1517, probably) to Audrey, daughter of William Lynne, Esq., of Southwick, in Northamptonshire; secondly, to a widow, named Isabella Taverson, who survived him until 1565. By his first marriage he had four children; two daughters —Christiana, who married the wealthy Sir John Thynne, of Longleat, in Wiltshire, from whom the Marquis of Bath is descended; and Elizabeth, who died unmarried, in 1552. Sir Richard had also two sons, of one of whom (Thomas) it will become us to speak in a future article. His net annual income at the time of his death is said to have been £850 2s. 6d., of which Lady Gresham inherited £282 7s. per annum; Sir John £188 13s. 6d., and Thomas, afterwards Sir Thomas Gresham, £94 10s. 8d. By his will he left rings to all his friends, not forgetting Protector Somerset and his Lady, to each of whom he left a ring of the value of £5.

SIR JOHN GRESHAM.

(LORD MAYOR.)

Sir John Gresham was the younger brother of Sir Richard Gresham, of whose life the preceding chapter is a brief sketch. His birth-place was at Holt, but he also was apprenticed to Mr. John Middleton, of London. He was admitted a member of the Mercers' Company in 1517, became a merchant of considerable importance, and was elected to the highest office the City of London can confer, in 1547.

At the earliest period of the history of this family, the English traded to the Levant, and John Gresham was one of the principal adventurers. On one occasion, having hired a Portuguese vessel, and loaded it at Scio with merchandise for the English market, the Portuguese, to whom the vessel belonged, dishonestly detained it in Portugal, and made himself master of the cargo, which was valued at 12,000 ducats. Henry VIII. deemed this injury done to a British subject not unworthy of his notice, and wrote to John of Portugal, desiring that the property might be restored: the letter is dated the 15th of October, 1531, and has been preserved by Hakluyt. Another illustration of the early traffic of this family with the Levant is supplied by the will of Lady Isabella Gresham, (Sir John's sister-in-law), where particular mention is made of her "Turkey carpets," a great luxury for a private individual in an age when rushes formed part of the furniture of the Court. John Gresham became Sheriff of London in 1537, (the year of his brother Richard's mayoralty), and was knighted while in that office.

After the lapse of three centuries, we catch but imperfect

glances of such a character as Sir John Gresham; but we may infer that he was held in high consideration, and lived, as our ancestors would have said, in great worship, from the following entry in an old MS. account of payments made "by John Gostwyk, treasurer unto the king's majestie of the first-fruits and tenths, to these personnes ensuying, for diverse and sundry his majestie's affaires;" from which we learn, that when Anne of Cleves came to England in 1539, for the purpose of being united to Henry VIII., the task of entertaining certain of her train fell to the share of our knight:—

"To certain inholders of Greenwiche and London, for their dietts, and lodging of certain gentilmen that came over with the queen's said grace, £387 6s. 7d.

"To Sir John Gressham for the charge of the ambassadors lodged in his house, £56 4s. 4d."

In the same document mention is made of Sir Richard, father of Sir Thomas Gresham, and brother of the preceding, viz.:—

"To Sir Richerde Gressham for a cheyne of fyne golde whiche was geven to a gent. that came from the Duke of Bavyer, £100 13s. 9d."

Liberality and benevolence appear to have been qualities inherent in this family, for, in 1546, having purchased of his eldest brother, William, the mansion-house at Holt, where their father had lived, and where himself and his brothers were born, Sir John Gresham converted it into a free grammar school, which he endowed with the manors of Pereers and Holt Hales, in Norfolk, with all their appurtenances; besides upwards of ten freehold estates in the same county, and three more in London. Had the trustees of this school been formerly distinguished for the same vigilance which characterises their representatives at the present day, it would not have been our painful duty to state, that of the extensive demesnes with which Holt Grammar School was endowed by its founder—sufficient, had they been properly managed, to have set it on a level with the first establishments of a similar nature in England—there remains at present but 162 acres of land. Its total revenue amounts to not quite £350, about

two-thirds of which arise from the rents of its estates in London. Most of the above-named property seems to have lapsed previous to the year 1592; for the Fishmongers' Company (to whom the management of the school was confided by its founder,) have no evidence that the greater part of it was in their possession in that year,—the earliest period to which they are able to refer. In the manor of Holt Hales they have no interest beyond the receipt of a fee-farm rent of £7 per annum, paid to them by the present lord of the manor. Notwithstanding every disadvantage, this school, liberally conducted, and regulated by salutary statutes, is in a flourishing condition at the present day, and educates fifty free scholars; to any one of whom, removing to either of the universities, an annual exhibition of £20 is allowed.

Sir John Gresham succeeded in obtaining from Henry VIII. the hospital of St. Mary, Bethlem, which has continued ever since in the hands of the corporation of London, as an asylum for lunatics. In 1547, upon his election to the office of chief magistrate, he revived the splendid pageant of the Marching Watch; a ceremony which had been practised from time immemorial by the citizens of London at Midsummer; but having been prohibited by royal command in 1528, on account of the prevalence of a disorder, known as the sweating sickness, and again in 1539, it remained in disuetude until the year of Sir John Gresham's mayoralty. The period then fixed for its celebration was the eves of St. John and St. Peter, and what rendered it particularly attractive on the present occasion was, an accession of "more than 300 demi-launces and light horsemen, that were prepared by the citizens to be sent into Scotland." In the Lady Long's household book, preserved at Hengreave, in Suffolk, according to Gage's History, the following entry occurs, relating to this ceremony:—"Paid to xxx men, for weying of your la: harneys on Midsommer eve, and St. Peter's eve; that is to say, xs. to my L. Mayor, and xx to Sir Rowland Hill;" "My Lord Mayor," being Sir John Gresham.

Stowe somewhat graphically mentions Sir John Gresham, when he describes how Protector Somerset, on the afternoon of October

14, 1549, "was brought from Windsor, riding betwixt the Earls of Southampton and Huntingdon, through Oldbourne, in at Newgate, to the Tower of London, accompanied with divers lords and gentlemen, and 300 horse." The Lord Mayor, Sir Ralph Warren, Sir John Gresham, Mr. Recorder, and other city dignitaries, he says, "sat on their horses against Soper-lane," [now Bow-lane,] the officers standing with bills and halberds while the Duke passed.

Sir John was repeatedly employed as agent in Flanders to Henry VIII; nor did his commission cease with that monarch's reign, for in the council book of the succeeding monarch, he obtains frequent notice as a financial agent; and after having amassed a considerable fortune in trade, by which he was enabled to purchase many estates in Norfolk, besides the manor of Titsey, in Surrey, he died of a malignant fever on the 23rd of October, 1556,—seven days after he had made final dispositions for the government of Holt-School,—and was interred in the beautiful church of St. Michael Bassishaw, in which parish he resided at the time of his death. "He dwelt," says Stowe, "where Sir Leonard Halliday, who was mayor, *anno* 1605, afterwards dwelt." Strype furnishes a list of worthies, who, in a short space, fell victims to the same pestilential malady; and he does not omit to mention Sir John Gresham among the number.

The day of his interment happening to be a fast-day, the same authority says, an extraordinary fish dinner was provided for the occasion, at which were admitted all that came; and the funeral sermon was preached by the celebrated Dr. Harpsfeld. To judge from the ceremonial of his interment, he must have been a personage of great consideration. "He was buried," says Stowe, "with a standard and penon of arms, and a coat armour of damask [damascus steel], and four penons of arms; besides a helmet, a target and a sword, mantles and the crest, a goodly hearse of wax, ten dozen of pensils, and twelve dozen of escutcheons. He had four dozen of great staff torches, and a dozen of great long torches. The church and the streets were all hung with black, and arms in great store; and on the morrow

three goodly masses were sung ; one of the Trinity, another of our Lady, and the third of requiem." His charitable bequests were very numerous. Besides £100 to poor maids' marriages, and considerable sums to the different prisons and hospitals of London, he left to sixty poor men, and forty poor women, as many black gowns, of the value of 26s. 8d. and 20s. each respectively." Sir Rowland Hill, and Sir Andrew Judd, knights, conjointly with his "well-beloved nephew, Thomas Gresham," were appointed overseers of his will. To the Mercers' Company he left £13 6s. 8d. for a feast,—desiring them, "after dynner, to have my soul in remembrance with their prayers." He was twice married, and by his first wife had eleven children, from the eldest of whom was descended Sir John Gresham, the representative and last baronet of the family, who died at Titsey, on the 20th of October, 1801.

SIR THOMAS GRESHAM.

(LORD MAYOR.)

The materials for the history of a life so illustrious as that which now demands our attention are so voluminous—the details, as bearing upon the fortunes of the future "merchant-princes" of England, are so manifold—that we must be excused if, in our summary, we extend the notice of the life of Sir Thomas Gresham to a length beyond that which the scope of the work which we have undertaken would seem to prescribe as the limit beyond which the biographer ought not to pass; so also would the compiler desire to be held pardonable if, in arranging his materials, he should unintentionally omit any point which it may be important the readers of such a work as the present should feel that they ought to have had placed before them. From the "Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham," by John Wm. Burgon, Esq., copious extracts have been made.

Sir Thomas Gresham was the second son of Sir Richard Gresham, by his first wife Audrey, daughter of William Lynne, Esq., and appears to have been named after his uncle, the rector of South Repps. The place of his birth was most probably London; and the time, as near as can be ascertained, was sometime during the year 1519. Of his youth very little indeed is known, except that he had the misfortune to be deprived of a mother's care at the tender age of three years; and that, after receiving the rudiments of learning, he was subsequently sent to Cambridge, and admitted a pensioner of Gonville Hall. Here he imbibed that attachment to the Protestant faith which is conspicuous throughout all his correspondence; and to his residence

at Cambridge, may most probably be ascribed that taste for literature, and that love of learned men, which distinguished him throughout life. Dr. Caius, in his Annals of the college which bears his name, and of which he was co-founder, notices Gresham in the following terms:—"Unà nobiscum," says he, "per juventutem hujus collegii, pensionarious erat Thomas Gresham, nobilis ille et ditissimus mercator, qui forum mercatorum Londini (quod bursam sen regale excambrum vocant,) extruxit." These words occur in a beautiful folio MS. on vellum, preserved in an iron chest in the treasury of Caius college.

It was, perhaps, not so much inclination as expediency which made him a merchant. The advantages to be derived from foreign commerce were at that time considerable; and his father evidently destined him for commercial pursuits, by binding him in his youth apprentice to his uncle, Sir John Gresham; in consequence of which he was, in 1543, admitted a member of the Mercers' Company, being then in the 25th year of his age. Ten years afterwards, writing to the Duke of Northumberland from Antwerp concerning commercial matters, he says, "To the wyche syence I myselfe was bound prentisse viii yeres, to come by the experyence and knowledge that I have. Neverthelesse I need not to have bynne prentisse, for that I was free by my father's coppye: albeit, my father, Sir Richard Gresham, being a wyse man, knew, although I was free by his coppye, it was to no purpose, except I were bound prentisse to the same, whereby to come by the experience and knowledge of all kinds of merchandise."

The earliest contemporary notice of Sir Thomas Gresham occurs at this period of his history. He is mentioned in one of the despatches of Seymour and Wotton to King Henry VIII., written from Brussels in the month of June, 1543, and appears even then in the character of a merchant of some importance, although but twenty-four years of age. In the following year he was married to Anne, daughter of Wm. Ferneley, Esq., of West Creting, in Suffolk, and widow of Wm. Read, Esq., of Beccles, in the same county. It does not appear how many children Gresham had by

his wife; mention is only made of one, Richard. It seems that, although for the first few years after his marriage he made London his home, his business frequently carried him to Antwerp —then the great focus of commerce. But he was not destined to continue long in a private station. He was already distinguished as a merchant possessing uncommon tact and ability, and a remarkable juncture in the financial affairs of the kingdom having occurred, he was soon called upon to take an important part in their management, being then in the thirty-second year of his age.

In 1551, so highly esteemed were the commercial talents of Gresham, that he was appointed to the office of Royal Agent at Antwerp, at a time when by unskilful management the revenues of the crown had become seriously disarranged. Gresham himself has recorded his first interview with the youthful sovereign and his ministers in these words:—"I was sent for unto the counsell, and brought by them before the king's majestie, to knowe my oppynyone (as they had many other merchants) what waye wythe least charge his majestie might growe out of debt. And after my device was declared, the king's highness and the counsell required me to take the room in hande, wythout my sewte or labour for the same." As domestic financial agent, "Thomas Gresham, Mercer, of London," is frequently noticed in the council-book of Edward VI.; he must, therefore, have been frequently brought under the eye of the council, and it may be naturally inferred, from his having been "sent for" on the present occasion, that he enjoyed the reputation of being one of the most enlightened merchants of his day. He was placed in some difficulties, however, after his appointment as royal agent, from his ignorance of the fact that the ministers of Edward had determined to resist the iniquitous impositions on the part of the money-lenders; he nevertheless removed with his wife, and took up his residence in the house of Jasper Schetz, one of the most distinguished merchants of the city of Antwerp.

The office of Royal Agent, or as it was sometimes called King's

Merchant, or Factor, to which our merchant had been appointed, was of very early origin. It arose out of the exigencies of an imperfectly organised system of finance, which, when the country was threatened with war, or some other source of heavy expenditure, recognised but two modes of replenishing the coffers of an impoverished treasury, namely, to levy subsidies by an unjustifiable stretch of arbitrary power; or to induce wealthy merchants, under sufficient security, to advance the sums required. The former of these methods, which, in remote times, was doubtless had recourse to in the majority of instances. and with most success, was too convenient ever to be totally relinquished; but as the commercial wealth of Europe increased, the practice of obtaining loans from the opulent merchants settled in Germany and the low countries, became more and more prevalent, until it was finally found expedient, on the part of Government, to employ an agent for the express purpose of negotiating them. This was always some one of high ability, influence, and integrity, whose province it was, in addition to the immediate duties of his office, to supply the state with whatever was required of foreign production. It was also expected of this servant of the crown, that he should keep the privy council informed of whatever was passing abroad; and he was not unfrequently called upon to negotiate with foreign princes in the additional capacity of Ambassador. The office of "Agent for the Crown, with the trading interest, or, as it was called, King's Merchant," says a modern writer, "was one of the highest importance and trust, inasmuch as it united the duty of raising money for the royal occasions by private loans, with that of protecting and cherishing the sources from which they were derived." It may be observed, also, that this office was distinct in itself, and altogether independent of the occasional employment of one or more domestic financial agents. It is stated, that in the discharge of this office, Sir Thomas Gresham enjoyed the confidence of his sovereign to an extent beyond that of any of his predecessors; his administration of the affairs of the crown, in fact, being very nearly uninterfered with. The salary, or, as it was called, "the diets," was twenty shillings per diem.

Sir Thomas Gresham, however, did not reside at Antwerp by any means uninterruptedly; for, by his own account, such was the state of the countries during the first two years he served King Edward, that he posted from Antwerp to the Court, on receiving very short notices, no fewer than forty times.

It appears, from the written statement of Gresham's transactions, which he presented to Edward VI. on his return from Antwerp in the beginning of August, 1552, that between the first of March and the twenty-seventh of July, his payments of the debts and interest contracted by the King, had amounted to £106,310 4s. 4d. His own travelling expenses, for "rydynge in and owght eyght tymes" during that period, together with those of the posts who had conveyed his letters to and from the council, had amounted to £102 10s.; and he had concluded his mission by giving his friends a feast, which forms the last item in the account. "Paid," he says, "for a supper and a banckett that I made to the Fugger, and to the Schetz, and other that I have hade to do withall for your majesty, sens your hightnes haythe comytted this great charge unto me, the 28 de July, anno 1552, £26." This banquet was, doubtless, conducted on a scale of extraordinary splendour, as indeed Sir Thomas Gresham's banquets always were; £26 in 1552 was equivalent to about £250 at the present day, and the persons feasted do not appear to have exceeded twenty in number.

With the termination of this mission, the services of Sir Thomas Gresham were not dispensed with; for so much was the state involved by the heavy debts which had been contracted by Henry VIII., that his journeys to Antwerp to solicit the forbearance of creditors, or effect new loans, were of frequent occurrence; and ultimately the suggestions which he proposed to the council for the liquidation of those debts met their approval. In his very voluminous correspondence on this question, Sir Thomas speaks his mind very freely to the Duke of Northumberland, and lays down the plan of reducing the whole of the debt (£108,000) in two years, by taking up a sum of £200 or so, per day, "and thus doing, yt shall not be persevyd, nor

yt shall not be no occasion to make the exchange fall; for that it shall be takyne up in my name. And so by these means, in working by delyberacione and tyme, the merchants turn also shall be servyd."

The preceding, however, was only one of many schemes suggested by this enterprising merchant, for raising the rate of the exchange at Antwerp in favour of England. To this object, indeed, he directed all his endeavours, and was constantly devising expedients to check whatever he perceived had a contrary tendency. His letters proved how little the nature of such operations was then understood, and how thoroughly Gresham himself appreciated their importance. The nature and tendency of his operations will appear from the following passage, in his letter to the Duke of Northumberland, dated the 16th of April, 1553:— "The exchange keepyth here at xix *s.* viii *d.* And so I have no dowght, but that it wille contynew; and rather lycke to ryse than to fall, whiche is one of the chieffyst poyntes in the comenwell that your grace and the kyng's majesty's counsell hath to looke unto. For has the exchange rysethe, so all the commodities in Ingland fallyth; and as the exchange fallyth, so all our commodities in Ingland rysethe. As also, if the exchange rysethe, it wille be the right occasion that all our golde and silvar shall remayne within our realme; and also it is the meane that all other realms shud brynge in golde and silvar, as heretofore they have done." He then explained some of the principal causes of the decline of the exchange, and suggested as a remedy the absolute necessity, in future, of making none but those who had served a regular apprenticeship of eight years, free of the company of merchant adventurers; for he showed that to the inexperience of many members of the company, the evil against which he was contending was principally attributable. But the most notable of all his expedients for raising the exchange, and bringing the crown out of debt, (an expedient to which he twice had recourse in king Edward's reign,) was to detain the fleet of the merchants when it was on the point of sailing for Antwerp, and compel the proprietors of the merchandise to engage, on

their arrival, to furnish the state with certain sums of money, to be re-paid at an appointed time in London, at a fixed rate of exchange,—of course the highest they could be brought to accede to. How correct he was in the results he anticipated from these and similar measures, appeared in the sequel by the success which attended them. He found means in a short space to raise the exchange from sixteen shillings Flemish for the pound sterling, to twenty two shillings, at which rate he discharged all the king's debts; and by this means money was rendered plentiful and trade prosperous, while the credit of the crown became established on a firmer basis abroad than it had ever been before.

During Gresham's early residence at Antwerp, he was selected as a proper person to sound the ambassador of Charles V. (under whose dominion the Netherlands at that time were,) and to endeavour, as it were casually, to discover from him in the course of conversation, what disposition was entertained by the government he represented towards England. This he was able easily to accomplish, and the negociation which ensued led to many mutual protestations of good-will.

During the time that he was thus actively engaged on the continent, Gresham entrusted the conduct of his affairs in Lombard-street to his London factor, by name John Elliott. When business, on the contrary, carried Gresham to the court, or the council, his concerns in the Low Countries were left to the able management of a Welchman, named Richard Clough, who resided permanently at Antwerp. During all these transactions, as a matter of course, his establishment of servants, principally as "posts," was effectually kept, nor do we find that any who served him faithfully went unrewarded. He had also factors at various ports, among whom was one named Edward Hogan, who resided at Seville, who sent Gresham the memorable "payre of long Spanish silk stockings," which he afterwards presented to Edward VI., and which Stowe has described as "a great present," cloth hose being the wear of the court at that time.

Affairs were thus prospering with Gresham when death visited the prince whom he had so faithfully served, and Mary

succeded to the throne of these realms. On her accession, Gresham was suddenly removed from his office of royal agent, owing most probably to the fact that the nobleman who had been his patron was most hostile to the Queen's succession. He was besides, it is averred, personally obnoxious on the score of his religious opinions, and found a bitter opponent in Gardiner, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Winchester, whom the queen restored to the see of which her predecessor had deprived him. "When the king, your brother, died," said Gresham, writing to Queen Elizabeth in 1558, "for rewarde of my servise the Bishoppe of Winchester sought to undoe me; and whatt soever I sayd in these matters, (alluding to some great measures of finance,) I should not be creditted."

The injustice of which he complained, and the grounds on which he founded his claims to different usage, will best appear from the following memorial drawn up by himself, apparently some time in August, 1553; on the 22nd of which month Northumberland, to whom it contains an allusion, died on the scaffold. We give the document at full length, as being of peculiar interest at the present day, and as illustrating the history of Gresham in his own words. He is addressing the Lords of the Council:—

"Fyrst. Before I was called to serve the king's majestie, one Sir William Danssell, Knight, was his agent. At that time his majestye was indebted in the sum of two hundred threescore thowssonde powndes, Flemyshe: for the discharge whereof, and for other causes to me unknowen, the said augent was written unto to come home, which he reffused to doo. And thereupon I was sent for unto the counsell, and brought by them afore the king's majestie to knowe my oppynyone, (as they had many other marchaunts,) which way, wythe leaste charge, his majestie might growe out of debt. And after my device was declared, the king's highness and the counsell required me to take the room [place] in hande, wythout my sewt or labour for the same.

"Secondarly. Before I was called to sarve, there was no other ways devised to bring the king out of det, but to transporte the

treasure out of the realme; or else by way of exchange, to the great debasing of the exchange; for a pownde of our current money there was brought in vallew to but xvi*s*. Flemyshe; and for lacke of payment there at the dayes appointed, for to prassarve his majestie's credit withal, to prolong time allsoe upon interest; which interest, besydes the loss of the exchange, amounteth unto xl M. *li* (£40,000) by yere. And in every such prolonggation, his majestie was inforced to take great parte in jewels, or wares, to his extreme losse and domayge; of which xl M. *li* (£40,000) losse for interest yerely, I have by my travale clerely discharged the said king every peny. Wythe out wyche prevenssion, the Queen's majestie had been indebted at this her enttrye into the imperyall crown in the sum of fore hundred thousand pownds, besides the saving of the treassore within the realme; without tacking of juells or wares to the king's losse or disprofit.

"Thyrdely. Whereas at the tyme of my entrey into the offis, I fownde the Exchange at sixteen shillings the pownde, I fownde the meanes nevertheless, (without any charge to the king, or hinderance of auny other,) to discharge the kinges whole dettes, as they grew dew, at xx*s*. and xxij*s*. the pownd; where by the king's majestie, and now the quene, hathe savid one hundred thowsand markes clere.

"Forthely. By reason that I raissed the exchange from xvi*s*. unto xxij*s*., (whereunto it yet remaynethe,) all forreyne commodities be fallen, and sollde aftyr the same vallew; to the enriching of the subjects of the realme in their commodities, in small process of tyme, above iii or iiij C. M. *li* [£300,000 or £400,000.]

"Fyftely. By reason of raising of the Exchange from xvi*s*. unto xxii*s*. the pownd, (Flemyshe monney,) like as in tymes past the golde and silvar was abundantly transported oute of the realme by the abasing; even so, contrarywise, nowe it is most plentifully brought in ageynne by the rayssing. For there ys come alredy, of late, above i C. M. *li* (£100,000) into the realme; and more and more will daylly doo.

"Sixtely. It is assuredly known, that when I toke this sarvis

in hande, the King's Majestie's credit on the other syde was small; and yet, afore his deathe, he was in such credit, both with strangers and his own marchaunts, that he myght have had for what some of monny he had desyred. Whereby his enymyes began to fear him; for the commodities of his realme, and his power amongst prynsis, was not known before. Wyche credit the Queaune's highness haythe opteyned, if she were in necessity for money at this pressent daye.

"Seventely. To th' entent to worcke this matter secretly, for the raising of the Exchange, I did only use all my own creditt with my substance and friends'—to the intent to prevent the marchaunts, bothe strangers and Englishe, who allwayes lay in wayte to prevent my devisses; as when th' Exchaunge felle, to raise it again, I bare some one tyme losse of my own monies, (as the King's majestie and his counsell well know,) ii. or iii. c. *li* (2 or £300.) And this was divers tymes done; besides the credit of fivetye thowsownd pownd, wyche I tooke by exchaunge in my own name, withought using the King's name; as in my accownt and letters remaynyng wyche I sent to his majestie, evidently aperythe.

"And Eightly. For the accomplishment of the premises. I not onely lefte the realme, with my wiffe and famylye, my occupying and whole trade of lyving, by the space of two yeres, but also postyd in that tyme xl tymes, upon the Kinge's sending, at the least, from Andwerpe to the courte; besides the practising to bring these matters to effect, the infynyt occasion of writting also to the King and his counsaylle, with the keeping of reckonings and accomptes, (onely bye my own hand-writting, for mistrust in so dangeros a busines of preventers, whereof were store too manny,) untill I had clerely discharged all the foresaid debt, and delyveryd all the bondes clere, to the great benefit of the realme, and profit of the Queene. For in case this debt had been let alone, and differyd upon interest iiii yeres or v, her majestie should have fownd it amount to xv hundred thousand powndes at the least. Wyche (God be prayssyd!) is ended, and therefore careless at this daye.

"For consideracyone of my great lossys, and charges, and travayles taken by me in the causes aforsaid, yt pleased the Kinge's majestie to gyve unto me one hundrethe powndes to me and my heyres for ever, thre weckes before his deathe; and promysid me then, by his owne mowthe, that he wold hereaftyr se me rewardyd better, saing, *I shulld knowe that I sarved a King*. And so I dyd fynd him, for whose sowle to God I dayly praye.

"Finally. If, upon consideracion of the former articles of my service made, (wyche is all trewe,) ye shall thinke them mete to be shewed to the Queene, and her grace's pleasure to accept them, (allso as I may have access to her hightnes the rather thereby,) I doutt not to do her grace as good proffitable service, bothe for her and her realme, as the former service of her brother dothe amounte unto. Nevertheles, hitherto I do perceive that those whiche served before me, wyche brought the King in debt, and tooke wares and juellis upp, to the Kingis great losse, are esteemed, and prefferred for their evill servis; and contrarywise, myself discountenaunced, and out of favour. Wyche grevythe me not a little, for my dilligens and good sarvice taken to bringe the Kinge and Queene's hightness out of dett clere. Wyche understanding of my service, that her majesty may take in good parte, is as moche as I required.

"As I was inselinge of the letter enclossed herein, I received a letter out of Flanders, whereby I understand, that as well as my plate, howshold stuffe, and aparell of myselfe and wyfe, (wyche I have sent and preparid into Andwerpe to serve me in time of my servys there,) by casualty of weather, comyng from Andwerpe, ys all loste. And now, God helpe poor Gresham! Allso the Lord of Northumberland dowthe owe me iiii c *li* (£400) for a juell and wares that my factor solld him in my absens; trusting that the Queene's majestie wil be good unto me therein."

That Gresham was unfairly treated, there seems no reason to doubt; but dismayed, perhaps, by the ruin of his late patron, and the evil plight of his friends at the Court, he apprehended greater misfortunes than actually fell to his share, as he was speedily and completely restored to the personal favour of Mary, as he himself

says, by the timely interference of "Sir John a Leye," of whom little more seems to be known than that he was a Roman Catholic gentleman who possessed the ear of the Queen, and in a remarkable degree enjoyed her confidence. The probability is that their acquaintance was commenced at Antwerp, as Sir John was a man of travel. Gresham resumed his office as Queen's Agent in November, and his first instructions were to "take up, at Antwerp, the sum of £50,000, for the space of a year, on interest after the rate of 11 or 12 per cent.," on the security of the Queen's bond, and that of the City of London, under the Great Seal, as had been the case in King Edward's time. All sums which he took up at interest, or by exchange, he was instructed to convey to London with the utmost possible secresy, in such coins of gold and silver as he thought most meet, loading them at Antwerp, on any ship bound for either London or Ipswich. Not more than £1000 was to be adventured in one bottom; but he was authorised to send the value of £3000 overland from Antwerp to Calais, and so to London, by any of his servants, or other trusty person going into England; the risk in either case being sustained by the Crown. He was allowed for his diet twenty shillings a-day, and was to be remunerated for all expenses for messengers, letters, and the carriage of treasure. He arrived at Antwerp on the evening of the 17th of November, and seems to have met with some difficulties in the object of his mission, arising out of the conduct of a negotiation with Lazarus Tucker, by one Dauntsey, who had been sent to Antwerp on the accession of Mary. A week after Gresham's arrival, he wrote a letter to the Council, in which he says, "The Queen had better have given Dauntsey £10,000 than ever he should have proceeded in this matter, both for her honour and credit's sake." He succeeded, however, in all that he undertook.

His correspondence of this period, which is preserved in the State Paper-office, although it relates solely to business, is very voluminous, and from it several hints are to be derived illustrative of the nature of the trust reposed in Gresham by the Queen, and the conditions on which he held his office as agent. Nor were

his letters either few or far between, as may be gathered from the dates of those which are preserved. There are, for instance, despatches of the 18th and 26th of November; the 6th, 8th, 20th, 24th, 28th, and 31st of December; the 1st, 13th, 18th, 21st, and 31st of January; the 6th, 15th, and 21st of February; and the 1st of March: and, what is somewhat singular, the writer commonly addressed, on the same day, the Council collectively; some individual member, as the secretary, whom he knew to be favourably disposed toward him; and, lastly, the Queen. Occupations sufficiently pressing to require such constant correspondence, render it not surprising that Gresham should have declared to the Council, "I shall not let to give up all my whole occupying and trayde of living for to serve her majesty; as I did no less in the King's majestie's lyfe tyme." He obtained leave of absence for ten days, at Christmas, a privilege which, however, he was not able to avail himself of, and he accordingly determined to remain in Antwerp until the month of March, and then to retire. He did so, but had scarcely returned to England when his services in Flanders were again required.

At a meeting of the privy council on the 27th of March, Sir Richard Southwell, master of the ordnance, informed their lordships that there remained in the Tower but "fourteen last of powder, which portion being by their lordships considered to be far too little for all events, and therefore thought meete to be supplied with all convenient speede; they did resolve that whereas the said Mr. Southwell had heretofore warrant directed unto him whereby he was authorized to give order unto Thomas Gresham, to provide 40,000 lbs. weight of saltpetre in Roche; he should now, for a further supply give order in like manner to the said Thomas Gresham, to make provision out of Flanders of twenty last of well-chosen serpentine powder, over and besides the saltpetre aforesaid. And, forasmuch also as the said office of the ordnance is amongst other things presently unfurnished of harquebushes, it was further resolved by their lordships that the said Mr. Southwell should in like manner take order with the said Thomas Gresham to provide five hundred harquebushes from

out of Flanders, over and besides other five hundred for which he hath warrant addressed unto him already." No great haste seems to have been required in the execution of the order for these supplies, as Gresham did not return to Flanders until the expiration of ten weeks from his departure, and he arrived at Antwerp on the 12th of May. On the 22nd of the same month he again took his leave of that place, having concluded his business, and went into Spain, in which country also he had important monetary affairs to transact. He obtained the king's passport for exporting bullion from that country, and, after much fatigue and travel, returned to Antwerp in the spring of the following year.

Gresham's correspondence during this period was also very heavy; and he had the honour to receive some replies to his letters drawn up by Mary herself, in which she certainly exhibited great aptitude for business. To trace him, however, through every variety of adventure would not only be tedious to the reader, but at variance with the scope of the present work; and it must, therefore, content us to remark that however favourable the disposition entertained towards him by those in office, there seems to have been wanting that cordiality between them which might have been expected; and however honourably treated by the Council, and favourably noticed by the Queen, Gresham generally confined himself, in addressing both, to the strictest details of business. A note of the Queen's debts in Flanders, and an account of the sums of money taken up from time to time to discharge them, form, in consequence, the general topic of his letters, diversified only by an occasional note of payments made, or a memorandum of what bullion, arms, or ammunition he had shipped from Antwerp under King Philip's license, and sent home by order of the Council.

Such were the nature of Gresham's occupations at Antwerp; and such, more or less, were his employments from the period of his return from Spain in the beginning of 1555, until the 16th of June, on which day it is recorded, in the Acts of Queen Mary's Privy Council, that he presented to their Lordships nine "obli-

gations or bonds, as well as of hir highness as of the Cittie of London, which heretofore passed for the sure payment of certayne summes of money due to sundry merchants and strangers. All which bonds were cancelled, and sent to the Lord Treasurer, to be laid up in the Queene's Treasury; and to deliver the Cittie's to the Lord Maior by the said Thomas Gresham."

On the 4th of October, 1555, Gresham again returned to the scene of his occupation, and witnessed the abdication of Charles the Fifth, in favour of his son Philip, which took place at Brussels, on the 25th of October, 1555, attended by great ceremony. His occupation of the office of royal agent, however, seems to have been very frequently interrupted, as he himself says, that he only served the queen for two years, and her reign is known to have extended to five. Of the apparent cordiality which subsisted between her majesty and her faithful agent we have already spoken, and have noticed the manner in which he was accustomed to correspond with his royal mistress from Antwerp, minutely informing her of his progress in every financial operation. Of this class of his letters there exists no specimen more beautiful than one which he wrote on the 19th of August, 1555. "To the Queen's most excellent Majestie;" enclosing "a breffe extracte touchinge the state of your Majesty's holle dettes in Flanders; wythe the days of payment when the said dettes shall grow dew, as here aftyr too your hygtness maye more playnly apere." But the following letter, written "from Laytton," on the 23rd of December, besides other points of interest which it contains, incidentally reveals the intercourse which continued to subsist between Gresham and the Queen, during his sojourn in England, when his occasions brought him hither:—

"It may please your most excellent majestie to be advertised, that at my last access I had to your highness, your grace's pleasure was that I should confer with my lorde the Bishop of Ely, the Lorde Paget, and Sir William Peter, as touching your detts and charge beyond the seas. And being a dark night when that I departed from your majestie, I thought it not con-

venyent to molest my Lordes that thyng,—thinking the next day to have accomplished your majestie's commission; which I could not do, for that I was visited with a hott burning agew. Nevertheless, according to my most bownded dewty, I sent unto my said Lordes and Sir William Peter the next day my factor, John Elliott; to signify unto them your highness's pleasure: wherein I perceived they were most ready to accomplishe the same, so farre forthe as that they had your majestie's commyssione so to doo. And for that my Lorde the Bishop made answer, a shuld be absent for iiij or v dayes, and my Lorde Paget also; by the reason of my continual syckness, I stayed till the coming of my said Lordes; or untill suche tyme I had beene able to have come to have conferred with their honnors. Which, as yet, I have not done; but always have given my Lorde of Ely, and my Lorde Paget, and Sir William Peter to understood, what money I had received of your majestie's warrant of x m *li.* [£10,000]; advertising your highness, that I have received at this instant, iiij m *li.* [£4,000], whereof I have delyvered by exchange, the sum of ij m *li.* [£2,000], at xxi *s.* vi *d.;* wyche will redound muche to your majestie's honnor and credit, as allso your proffyt. Which is the chiefest thinge (one of them) that your highness ought to consider.

"Since the which tyme, it maye please your majestie to understand, that as the xx *st.* of this present, my Lorde Treasurer sent me worde by my factor, John Elliott, that a had taken upon hym to confer wyth me to paye all your majestie's detts; and that a was come to London to geve order for the payment of the sum of v m *li.* [5,000] towards the payment of the x m iiij c liij *li.* vi *s.* viij *d.* [£10,453 6*s.* 8*d.*] Flemish, that your majestie oweth to Alexander Bouvyze, the xxv th of Janyver next. And for that your highness hath appoynted me to confer with other of my Lordes, according to my most bowndyd dewty, and the trust that it hath pleased your grace to have reposed in me, I have thought it most expedient for my discharge to advertise you of the premises. Most humbly beseeching your majestie that I maye knowe your further pleasure therein: wherein I shall most re-

verently follow your majestie's order, wheresoever it shall stand with your grace's pleasure to appoynte me; so that it shall stand with your majestie's honnor and credit and for the proffit of your majestie and the realme.

"And thus, for feare of molesting your majestie with my longe writing, I shall praye to God to geve me grace and fortewn that my servyce maye be always acceptable to your hyghness. As knoweth our Lorde, who preserve your nobell majestie in helthe, and long lyfe, and long to rayne over us, with increase of muche honner. From Laytton, the xxiij rd of December, in the year of our Lord God xvclv. [1555.]

"By your Majestie's most humble and

"Faithful obedient subject,

"THOMAS GRESHAM, mercer."

"To the Queene's most excellent majestie."

The interruptions in his official duties, to which reference has been made, however unwelcome they may have been in other respects, afforded Gresham leisure for the pursuits of commerce, which, until the year 1552, he had prosecuted with equal assiduity and success, and he had become an enrolled member of the guild of merchant adventurers; a body incorporated by Edward the First, as early as 1296, when they established a factory at Antwerp; but they did not assume the appellation until the reign of Henry VII. The prosperity of these merchant adventurers was permanent; certain privileges and immunities, originally granted to them by charter, had been confirmed by every successive monarch since their incorporation; and, few as they were in number, they virtually monopolized the commerce of the country. They constituted a fellowship, which was under the control of a governor, elected out of their own body; and they appointed deputy governors for all their residences at home and abroad. In the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, they were in the habit of sending their cloths twice a year, at Christmas and Whitsuntide, into the low countries; the cloth shipped annually amounting in value to about seven or eight hundred thousands pounds. From

an entry in the Cottonian MS., it appears that Gresham alone, on one occasion, sent "4,500 western kerseys of the best sort, which sold with great profit to the Italians, at Antwerp." From this incidental notice, may be inferred, the nature and extent of his private operations.

Being in England, at Christmas, 1555, we find him among the number of those who presented a new year's gift to Queen Mary. "A bolte of fine Holland, in a case of black leather," is mentioned as having been presented by Mr. Thomas Gresham; who received, in return, "owne guilt jug," weighing sixteen ounces and a half—a larger present than was bestowed on most men of his quality.

About the same time, also, we find recorded, a proof that the services Gresham had rendered the Queen were deemed satisfactory; for she bestowed upon him the Priory of Austin Canons, at Massingham Magna, in Norfolk; together with the manor and rectory of Langham, and advowson of the vicarage; the manors of Walsingham and Harford, besides those of Merston and Combes, and the advowson of their respective rectories. Gresham himself valued the lands thus presented to him at two hundred pounds a year. He was subsequently, however, out of favour at court; but appears to have again basked in the smile of royalty in the last year of Mary's reign; in March of which year he was directed to prepare himself for another journey into the low countries—his instructions being to raise £100,000, on loan, for one year. His last letter from Antwerp to Queen Mary, is dated the 23rd of October, 1558; she died on the 17th of November, a few weeks after that letter was written, and probably while Gresham was still at Antwerp. A fresh page was thus opened in his life.

Elizabeth, who succeeded Mary on the throne, was living in retirement at Hatfield, at the period of her sister's decease, and here she was speedily joined by Sir William Cecil, who became at once her principal secretary. Nor was Gresham long behind; for although there had been no intelligence of his reaching England at the time of Mary's death, on the 17th, yet it is cer-

tain that on the 20th, when the first council was held, Gresham presented himself before Queen Elizabeth, and formed one of the group of statesmen who were assembled at Hatfield on that occasion, and derived his commission as Queen's merchant immediately from the Queen herself—a mark of royal favour, which however highly he deserved, he was probably indebted to his friend Cecil for. Indeed, Gresham himself admits this, in relating in his own style this portion of his history, and supplies a characteristic remark of Elizabeth, which is worth preserving. In writing to Cecil, he says:—

"It maye please you to be a meane unto the Queene's majestie for me; and to put her in remenbrance of my servisse done thys fyve yeres, that she maie have some remorsse upon me—according to her majestie's promise, that she maid me, before you, at her highness' house, Hatefylde, the xx*th* of November, anno 1558, when her highness came to the crowen: and that was, (upon the dyscoursing how I was handelyd in Quene Maryes tyme for my good servisse,) her highness promised me, by the fayth of a Queene, that 'she wold not onely *kepe one ear shut to hear me;*' but also, 'yf I dyd her none other servize than I had done to King Edward, her latte brother, and Quene Marye her latte syster, she would geve me as much land as ever they both did;' whyche two promises, I will insewre your honor, maid me a young man agayen, and caussyd me to entter upon this great charge agayen with hart and courage. And thereupon, her Majestie gave me her hand to kysse it; and I exsepttid this graat charge."

No sooner was Gresham reinstated in office, than his services were put in requisition. In the begining of December, 1558, he was despatched to Antwerp, to assure the merchants of that town of the validity of all outstanding obligations; to buy ammunition, and to take up some additional sums; for the repayment of which the City cheerfully gave their bonds. His commission assigned to him, as usual, an allowance of 20*s.* per diem, "and for the time he hath been in the realme, since his last coming over, 13*s.* 4*d.* by the day; the declaration of the dayes

he hathe been here to be taken by his own oathe." On the 23d he received a communication from the council, ordering him to take up a further sum; all which he accomplished, and returned to England again before the close of the year.

On Elizabeth's accession, he addressed to her a very long letter, in his usual quaint style, on his favourite subject—finance; a question which, even by the best informed at that time, was very imperfectly understood. He sketched what he conceived to be the Queen's best financial policy, closing his address as follows:—

"An it please your majestie to restore this your reallme into such estate as heretofore it hath bene—

"First. Your hygnes hath none other wayes, but, when time and opertunyty serveth, to bringe your base money into fine, of xi ounces fine. And so, gowlde, after the rate.

"Secondly. Not to restore the still-yarde to their usorped privelidge.

"Thirdly. To grant as few licences as you can.

"Fowerthly. To come in as small debt as you can beyond seas.

"Fiftly. To keep your credit; and specially with your owne marchants, for it is they who must stand by you, at all eventes in your necessity."

On this subject of finance, also, he addressed the following letter to Sir William Cecil, on the 1st of March, 1559:

"It maye like your hounor to understande, that xxx M *li.* sterling, aftyr xxiij*s.* iiij*d.*, maketh Flemyshe xxxiiij M viii C xxxiij *li.* vi*s.* viii*d.* (£34,833 6s. 8d.); and aftyr xxii*s.* (as the Exchange now goeth in Lombarde-street,) xxxiij M *li.* wych ys the halfe of the Quene's majestie's detts that be owing in Aprell and May next. And for the payment thereof, and for keeping uppe of the Exchange, the Quene's majestie hathe none other wayes and helpe but to use her merchant adventurers; wherein I doo right well knowe they will stande very stowte in the matter, by the reason of this new costome, as also for the xx M *li.* that her hyghnes doth owe them. Nevertheless, considering how

moche yt doth import the Quene's majestie's credit, of force she must use her merchants; and for the compassing thereof, her highnes shall have good opportewnity both to bargain and to bringe them to what price her majestie and yow shall think most convenient; as the like proof was made in Kinge Edwarde, her late brother's time.

"First. Yt is to be considered that our Englishe marchaunts have at the least l or lx M cloths and kersys lying upon their hands, reddy to be shipped, whiche they will begynne to ship when they shall knowe to what pointe they shall trust for their custome.

"Secondly. This matter must be kept secreat, that yt maye not come to the marchaunt's knowledge that you do intend to use them; and to laye sure wait when their last daye of shipping shall be, and to understand perfectly at the customer's hands, at the same daye, whether all the cloths and kerseys be entyred, and shipped, and water-borne. And being once all water-borne, then to make a stay of all the fleete, that none shall depart till further the Quene's Majestie's pleasure be known.

"Thyrdly. That being once done, to commande the customer to bring you in a perfect book of all such cloths, kerseys, cotton, lead, tynne, and all other commodities, and the merchantes' names: particularly what nomber every man hath shipped, and the just and total sum of the whole shipping. And thereby you shall know the nomber, and who be the great doers.

"Forthely. Apon the view of the customers booke, you shall send for my Lord Mayre, Sir Rowlond Hill, Sir William Garrat, Sir William Chester, Mr. Alldyrman Martynne, Mr. Alldyrman Baskefyld, Lyonell Dockat, William Bowrde, Rowland Heywood, Waltyr Marller, Harry Becher, and Thomas Ryvet; and move unto them that, 'Whereas you have shipped to the nomber of A. B. wyche be ready to depart to the mart, so it is that the Quene's Majestie ys indetted in Flanders for no small some; for the wyche, you, my Lorde Mayre, and the cytty, do stand bound for the payment thereof. And for that yt shall apere unto you that her highness ys not unmindful for the pay-

ment of the same, she hath thought good to use you, (as heretofore King Edward, her brother, dyd); whereby the Exchange may be kept up and raised, and to inrich this realme of fine gold, here to remain; as likewise we may have our commodities, and forrayne, at some reasonable prices. Whereby you merchants maye flourish in the commenwell, as heretofore you have done. And for the accomplyshment of the premises, the Quene's Majestie dowthe requyre at your hands to paye in Flanders xx*s.* sterling, upon every cloth that ys now shipped, after the rate of 25*s.* Flemish for the pound sterling; and her highness shall paye you here again at double usans. Which sum must be paid in Antwerpe; the one thyrde part the fyrst of May, one thyrde part the 20th of May, and the other thyrde part the last of May.'

"Upon the utterans hereof, they will grant nothing, till that they have assembled the Company together. Now, having all their goods in the Quene's power, there ys no doubt but that her Majestie shall bring them to bargaine, at such reasonable price, as you, and the rest of my lords, shall think convenient: wherein you may quallify the price of the exchange as you shall think most meetest; whereby they may be the better willing to serve hereafter; considering how much the Quene's highness is indebted unto them alreddy. Giving your honour to understand I doo not so much press upon the great price, as I do at this present to bring them to make offer to her highness to serve at some reasonable price.

"Finally. You maye not come lower than to have for every pound sterling xxii*s.* Flemish (for so the exchange passith at this present.) Butt I trust yt will be at 22*s.* 6*d.* ere they have fynyshed their shipping. Advertysing you, yf the exchange be better in Lombard Street than 22*s.* in any wise, to make them paye after that rate; or ells they do no service, but for their own lucar and gayen, wiche in no wise I will not have them accustomed unto at the Quene's Majestie's hands.

"To conclude, eftsoons, yf you can bring them to 22*s.*; and yf the exchange be better, according as the exchange goeth to

pay there, at the days aforesaid, and here at double usance, (which ys two months;) it wolle prove a more benyfycyall bargayn to the Quene's Majestie, and to this her realme, than I will at this present molest you withall; for it will raise the exchange to a onnest price. As for exsampell: the exchange in Kinge Edwarde's time (when I beganne this practisse) was but 16*s.* Dyd I not raise it to 23*s.* and paid his whole detts after 20*s.* and 22*s.*? Whereby wool fell in price from 26*s.* 8*d.* to 16*s.* and cloths from lx *li.* [£60] a packe to xl and xxxvi *li.* a packe, wythe all other our commodities, and forrayners; whereby a nomber of clothiers gave over the making of cloths and kerseys. Wherein there was touched no man but the merchant, for to serve the prince's turn; which appeared to the face of the world that they were great losers; but to the contrary, in the end, when things were brought to perfection, they were great gainers thereby.

"Fifthly. What bargain soever you do conclude with the marchants, to remember specially that they doo paye their mony in vallewyd money, (otherwise termyd permissyone money,) for that the Quene is bounde to pay yt in vallewyd money; wyche maye not in no wyse be forgotten. For it may chansse to cost the Quene iii or iiii *li.* apon every hundred powndes to come by the vallewyd money—soche scarsetty there ys thereof; wyche in the sales of our commodytes wolle cost the marchants nothing; for that they maye sell their commodytes to pay in permissyone money, for the some they shall paye for the Quene, wyche wolle not be xx*s.* permyssione money upon every cloth. Which matter, move not to the merchants until such tyme as you have bargayned and agreed upon the exchange; that being done, it maye not be forgotten."

In March, 1559, Gresham was again sent to Antwerp by the Queen, it being his second visit after her accession, a period of only four months. His instructions, which bear date on the 5th, direct him to postpone the payment of a moiety of the Queen's debt beyond seas for a period of six months; and to obtain from King Philip (who remained in Flanders for some time after

Mary's death,) a passport, which might enable him to carry into England two hundred barrels of saltpetre. After some difficulty, and by urgently pressing his suit at Brussels, he managed to fulfil his commission. The next instructions he received were to put over, if he could, for three or six months the money owing to the merchants by the Queen ; and if he found this impracticable, to take up money in order to pay her creditors. This was on the 10th of April, and soon afterwards he returned to London. He, however, went again to Antwerp, in September, taking with him £10,000, to pay, in part, the most urgent of the Queen's creditors there, and we find him at home again in the beginning of November.

The troubles of the Low Countries, during this period, seem to have had a large share of Gresham's attention ; and, in fact, to have caused his employment in a new capacity, for we find that after Philip had quitted Flanders, with a view to taking up his abode in future in Spain, it was resolved by the British government to send an ambassador-resident to that court ; and Sir Thomas Chaloner, who had represented Great Britain in Flanders, was selected to fill that important post, Gresham being sent over as ambassador at the court of the Duchess of Parma, regent of the Netherlands. It was on the occasion of this honourable and important mission, and when he was preparing to enter upon the duties which it entailed, that the honour of knighthood was conferred upon him ; for though in the instructions with which he was furnished preparatory to his departure, (bearing date the 20th December, 1559) he is termed "esquire," the knightly style is observed in an official document under his hand, which was written on the 23rd of the same month.

At this period, Sir Thomas Gresham's residence was in Lombard Street, which was then the handsomest street in London; and, like all other bankers and merchants living therein, he kept a shop, and over his door was his crest, a grasshopper, by way of a sign—a practice by no means uncommon at that day in London. The original sign of Gresham's shop is said to have been in existence so late as 1795 ; when, on the erection

of the present buildings, it disappeared from the station which it had so long occupied. After having received the honour of knighthood, however, (a distinction in that age, to which a similar honour at the present day is by no means equivalent,) Sir Thomas Gresham seems to have begun to look out for some other place of residence, and to think of leaving his house in Lombard Street to the care of his apprentices; for we are told that such an abode was considered unfitting the dignity of a knight. He fixed on the, at that time, aristocratic locality of Bishopsgate Street, where, after a year or two, a mansion arose to which he gave the name of Gresham House. But it must not be hence inferred that Gresham led a life of inglorious ease, or that he devoted even any large share of his time to matters of a mere domestic nature. His services to his sovereign required his almost constant attention, and we find that he discharged the duties of his exalted office of ambassador with his accustomed ability and success. It is to be borne in mind that in addition to these duties he had also that of Queen's merchant to attend to. On his first ambassadorial visit, for example, he was commissioned to take up for the space of a year, and transport to England, the sum of £200,000; "to send over the remainder of the armour and stores in his custody; and to purchase five hundred shirts of mail."

After about a month passed in Antwerp, he returned home, in the beginning of February, 1559-60; but it was only for a few days; since on the 25th of the same month we find him taking his departure from London, and writing, as follows, to Queen Elizabeth:—"It may please your excellent majestie to understand that for the better profe to your highness for the conveyance of such bullion and gold as I shall provide for you, I have sent you this letter enclosed in the stone-work; being no small comfort unto me that I have obtained to the knowledge thereof, for the better conveyance of your treasure. Which thing must be kept as secretlie as your Majestie can devyze; for yf it should be known or perceived in Flanders, it were as much as my life and goods were worth." It may be presumed from

this that he had discovered some extraordinary mode of conveying to England with secrecy the treasure he was commissioned to procure in Flanders. Being a farewell letter, also, he commended Lady Gresham to Queen Elizabeth in these words: "I shall most humbly beseeche your highness to be a comfort unto my poore wife in this my absence in the service of your Majestie."

His letters, after his arrival at Antwerp, on this occasion, mention the personal danger which his commission obliged him to incur, the merchants there having conceived the idea that it was his intention to rob them of all their fine gold and silver; "by reason whereof," he writes to Mr. Secretary Cecil, "I will insure you I am half afrayde to go abrode, but only at the owres of the burse tyme." From April, 1560, to March, 1561, Gresham resided almost permanently in Flanders, which was then in a very unsettled state, besides which, it became evident that Philip of Spain was preparing to aid the French king to subdue the Scots. These circumstances called forth all Gresham's energies, for he had great difficulties to contend with in the execution of his commissions, one of which was to purchase military stores to a large amount and forward them to London. The progress he was making in the fulfilment of this object, forms, in fact, the theme of all his letters for a considerable time; for his operations, which were conducted upon an immense scale, not only gave full occupation to himself, but also to the numerous agents who were constantly employed in his service in different parts of Flanders and Germany. In every letter he enumerates how many "corselets, dags, and hand-guns," he had been shipping, besides saltpetre and sulphur; until, at last, weary with the slow progress he was making, he begs to be allowed to adventure military stores to the value of £3000, on one bottom, from Hamburg,—from which port he says, that in his day not more than ten ships sailed in the course of the year. In these days, it would appear, that gunpowder was not made in England at all; for Gresham, in one of his letters, after alluding to its scarcity in Flanders, and the

great difficulty he had in procuring it, says, "The Queen's Majestie should do well to macke out of hand iiij or vi mylles for the macking of powder for the service of her highness's turne." Gresham frequently gave similar advice to Sir William Cecil, showing how inadequately England was then provided with the means of aggression, and of defence, and how dependent she was on foreign states for those resources which her native energies have since abundantly supplied.

During his protracted periods of absence from England, Gresham ever and anon expresses his concern for the welfare of his wife—so quaintly noticed in a passage already quoted. "I shall most humbly beseech your highness," he said, addressing Queen Elizabeth, in 1560, "to be a comfort unto my poore wyfe in this my absens in the service of your Majestie;" and similar passages are of frequent recurrence in his correspondence with Secretary Cecil and Sir Thomas Parry, to whom he, alternately, either recommends her ladyship, or returns thanks for the kind attentions which she had experienced at their hands. On one occasion, happening to address Cecil, at five o'clock in the morning, from Dunkirk (where he had just arrived after a very rough passage) Gresham concludes, "with my most humble commendations to my Lord Keeper, and to my Lord Robert, so that my poore wyfe be not forgotten—whom I will insure you was very sorrowfull to see me depart afore my account was fynished: therefore I shall most humbly beseech your honour, according to your promis, to be a stay and some comfort unto her in this my absence." "I shall desire you," he says elsewhere, "to have me in remembrans for the getting owght of my pardone, and that it may please you to delyver yt to my powre wyffe; which will be no small comforte unto her." And in a letter to Sir Thomas Parry, we find, "rendering you my most humble thanks for your gentill letter; as also for the gentilness showd to my poore wyfe, who likewise would gladly have me at home." Sometimes, too, the letters of this ancient merchant, record, however imperfectly the *on dits* of his day, more particularly the rumours which at that time were prevalent in Flanders concerning the marriage

of Queen Elizabeth, to which event Gresham more than once alludes. But, notwithstanding these lighter matters were frequently noticed, they occupied but little of his time, which was engrossed by the care of providing military stores for England, and providing for their safe transportation; a matter, as it would appear, of paramount difficulty and danger. His correspondence, during the year 1560, furnishes numerous proofs of the great hazards which he ran, in providing England with those implements of warfare which a few years later she turned to such good account. It is, of course, needless to observe, that in serving the state, which he represented, he was acting in direct violation of the laws of the Low Countries, and incurring their severest penalties; so that, in order to mislead a casual reader, should any of his letters have been intercepted, in his correspondence with Cecil, he conventionally made use of the word *velvet* to denote gunpowder; and employed other terms, as silks, damasks, and satins, in the same enigmatical manner. The following extracts from his letters will show his position:

"I have secreat advertisements by one of the serchers, how the courte here hathe geven order to the customers that all soche shipes as lade for England should be searched; whych ys only to tacke me in a trip, as I am credibly enformyd. I can no more wryte yow in this matter; but well fares that peny geven, that saves one hundred! I had thought to have shipped in this flote of shipes, (whyche be to the nomber of x or xii shipes) all the Queene's Majestie's corseletts, morrious, and corries,* that be remayning in this towen; but now I will staye till this brownte be past. In the last shipes that went from hens, I sent you x pieces of velvets, viz., v pieces of dobbill, and v pieces of pill and halfe; and for that yow write me yow undyrstand not what velvets should be, (and hoping that Candiller could inform you thereof, wherein I stand in dought,) you shall undyrstand that every piece of doble geyne velvet is one thousand pounds weight of corriu powddyr; and one piece of velvet of pill and a halfe ys 1 M lbs. weight of serpen-

* Probably cuirass is entended.

tine powdyr." "Sir, yow must neades devyse some wayes whereby the thyngs that be sent from hens maye be secreatly conveyed to the tower; or ells in soch matters I shall not be able to stand her highness in small stead from hence." In June, he says, "according as I have written your honour, I have corrupted the chief searcher, whom is all my doer, and who hath right honestly desired a worthy reward; soe by him, and through his advice, I am doing daily, as by my proceedings to you may appere. If it is discovered, there is nothing short of death with the searcher, and with him who enters it at the custom house. So that there shall no shipe depart, but I shall give the adventure of 3 or 4 pieces of velvets in a ship."

Notwithstanding Gresham's precautions, and his repeated injunctions that the greatest possible secrecy should be observed at the tower, the periodical arrivals of large quantities of ammunition did not fail to attract notice; and the intelligence soon found its way to Antwerp. To use his own words, he was now "holly at this wites' ende." "For as the xiiij th daie [of June, 1560] at vij of the clocke at nyght, the cheiffe sercher, (whome is all my worcker, and conveyer of all my velvets,) gave me to understand that there had bynne a Inglish man wyth the customer, and hadd informyd him that of late, I hade manny velvets aryvyd at London of all sortes; and that yf he made a general serche now, he shulld finde a great bootye. Wyche matter, the customer oppenyd to the searcher, (my frynde,) and comandyd him to be wythe him as the xvth daie, very erely in the mornyng; whereas all the costomers and he was together in conssaylle. And the matter being longe debattyd, they conclewdyd not to macke no serche; for if they shude serche and fynde nothing, it wold redowen moche to there disonnestyes; and they sayde amonges themsellffes, that I colde not tacke it in goode parte at there handes, consideryng how benefyciall I have allways bynne unto them. The sercher allegyde they had reason; and that, from tyme to tyme, as the goodes was ladynne, he tocke a view of all the shipes lading. Wyth that, said the undyr costomer,—'This Inglishman maye

doo this of mallyse; for that I knowe that Mr. Gresham ys not best belovyd amonges the merchants, for the service a doth to the prince:' and so at this instant they have concluded that nothing should be done. Sir, if any thing should be serched and found, the parties that shipped this year for me must flye the countrie till their end be maid; for it runs their goodes and all their lives upon. I am promesed by the sercher to have the Inglishman's name."

The letters whence these passages are extracted, also conveyed intelligence of the writer's progress in the shipment of military stores. "The shipes wherein was ladyn the xxx peases of vellvettes, and vi c ells of crymmesyne velvets; ix c lxx c ells of black damask, wyth ij c lx ells of crymmesyn satyn, be departed from hens without any sercher; wyche dothe amount to the sum of £2,500, trusting in God that they have all arrived safe. Most humbly beseaching your honnor that there may be all the secreasy used that may be, for the ressevving thereof into the tower; wyshing there were no man privey thereunto, but only M. Blomefylld, whome ys a very honnest, secreat gentleman, and syrcomspect in all his doinges. And doughtless this matter cannot be too secreat kept; considering the great care and adventore it is in transporting it from hens." Shortly after, he announces a further shipment of "velvets;" and adds, "to-morrowe I doo intend to lade 15 pieces of velvets more, and 1000 ells of black damask; so that I trust you shall lack no more of that kind of silks." By this jargon it will be remembered that a certain quantity of ammunition was signified.

Financial matters, too, his favourite theme, occupied a large portion of his thoughts at this time; and the subject of the exchanges is largely dwelt upon in his correspondence with Cecil; in one of his letters to whom, after referring to what had been the effect of his measures in King Edward's time, when the exchange was raised from 16*s.* to 23*s.* 4*d.*, whereby all foreign commodities had been greatly cheapened, and all Christendom robbed of their fine gold and silver, he says, "Sir, if you

will enter upon this matter, you may in no wise relent, by no perswasion of the merchants. Whereby you may kepe them *in fere and in good order;* for otherwise if they get the bridell, you shall never rewle them." And further on he adds, "I wolde that presentlie, the Quene's Majestie sholde give licence to our Inglish merchaunts to ship; for the sooner they doo begyn, the sooner they will be laden; and for licence of long cloths, the Quene's Majestie to grant them liberally, and to let them suffer another way. Sir, this matter is of so great importance, as it must be kept secret; for if the merchaunts have any inkling thereof they will never ship their goods, but despatch them otherwise." To conclude with this practice, "First, you shall raise the exchange, to the riching of the Quene's Majestie and the realme for ever. Secondly, you shall diffraie the Quene's Majestie's debt. Thirdly, you shall advance the Quene's homeward credit in such sorte as you shall astonny King Philip and the French King, which matter is of so great importance for the Quene's Majestie's honnor, and for the profit of her realme, that I cannot expresse unto you; but refer me to the sequalle thereof, which shall trie all things: which I have atteyned unto by experience and proofe thereof."

The refining of the currency was another topic upon which Gresham wrote, and this it appears, was, if not at his suggestion, at least with his concurrence, carried very secretly into effect; so secretly, indeed, that no man knew when it was about to happen.

By this time some idea may be formed of the nature and extent of the services which were continually required of Sir Thomas Gresham. It will be perceived that he discharged the duties not only of an agent, negotiating loans for the state, and of Queen's merchant, in which capacity the task of furnishing the country with military and other stores continually devolved upon him; but that he corresponded with Sir William Cecil, as the ambassadors at foreign courts were accustomed. Antwerp was then, in short, what London is now—the centre of intelligence; so that, in addition to Flemish news, Gresham conveyed

home the freshest intelligence respecting the Pope, derived from Rome, Naples, or Venice; respecting "the Turk," derived from Constantinople or Tripoli; Spanish news, from Seville or Toledo; and not least often, tidings of what was passing, or rumoured, in Sweden, Denmark, Germany, and France. In truth, the very best proof of the opinion which was entertained of his abilities by Queen Elizabeth and her ministers, is afforded by a mere inspection of the Flemish correspondence of the period during which he flourished, about the time of which we are speaking: for instance, there are hundreds of his letters in existence, and but very few by any other hand; so inconsiderable a number, indeed, as scarcely to deserve mention,—and even most of these relate or are addressed to him. This establishes beyond contradiction the fact, that in conducting the policy of England towards Flanders,—a state which formerly occupied a far prouder walk among European powers than it does at the present day,—Cecil depended altogether on the information furnished to him by Sir Thomas Gresham. How Gresham obtained his information, or what "delicate stratagems" he made use of, it is not necessary to inquire; it is evident, however, that to compass the ends he had in view, he did not scruple to obtain the co-operation, subserviency, or connivance of persons in office by a bribe, or any other means within his power.

Not altogether on strangers, however, did Gresham depend for his intelligence. There is abundant evidence of the activity of his disposition, and the personal exertions he constantly made to accomplish his objects. Often during his present protracted sojourn beyond the sea, he was found writing from Brussels and other towns in Flanders where he judged his presence desirable. On such occasions the only mode of travelling was by post horses, and in one of his hasty journeys he met with a fall, by which his leg was broken. This was in October, 1560, and the accident appears to have been serious, for he continued lame ever afterwards.

Gresham seems to have returned to London in March, 1561,

after an almost unbroken absence of eleven months, during nine of which he had vainly petitioned for permission to visit home. Whilst he was thus detained abroad, he lost, by death, his elder brother, Sir John Gresham, who died some time in the year 1560.

After remaining in England only until the month of August, Gresham was again despatched into Flanders, whither he proceeded in order to receive £30,000 of the merchant-adventurers, to pay a portion of the Queen's debt, and to persuade her creditors to postpone for a year the liquidation of the sums due in November and December. His stay was of about two months duration, and his correspondence during that time is of the ordinary character. He returned to London in October, and remained there until the end of the ensuing February. On new-year's day, 1562, Gresham presented Queen Elizabeth with £10 in angels, enclosed "in a purse of black silk and silver, knytt;" for which he received in return, twenty-four ounces of plate—in the shape of "oune guilt cup with a cover." Lady Gresham, whose offering was "a boxe, with foure swete baggs in it," received a smaller gift in return.

The active mind of Gresham seems at this time, to have been as much on the watch as ever for opportunities to benefit the State; and we cannot wonder at the esteem in which he was held, when the number and importance of his services are considered. During his long residence at Antwerp, however successful he had himself been in evading them, he had witnessed the superiority of the custom-house regulations in that city, over those of the same establishment in London; and he now wrote to his factor at Antwerp, Richard Clough, desiring him to obtain complete information as to the system pursued in Flanders, and to communicate to him the result of his inquiries in writing. Clough's reply to Gresham extended over more than twenty sides of folio paper, and entered into the details of the custom-house with the utmost minuteness. One passage in his letter, as bearing upon a project long a favourite of Gresham's, we extract:—

"I wryte this muche unto your mastershippe to put you in

rememberanse that when tyme shall serve, you maye breake some of these matters to Mr. Secretary: for in dede it is marvell that wee have so gude orders as we have, consydering what rulers wee have in the sittey of London; suche a companny that do study for nothing ells butt for their own profitt. As for insampell; consydering what a sittey London ys, and that in so many yeres they have nott founde the menes to make a bourse! butt must walke in the raine, when ytt raineth, more lyker pedlers than marchants; and yn this countrie, and all other, there is no kynde of pepell that have occasyon to meete, butt they have a plase meete to that pourpose."

The result of these inquiries and of this correspondence produced, after a few years, a great change in the customs department, which was attended by an enormous increase in the revenue.

In March 1562, Gresham was once more at Antwerp, to pay some of the Queen's bonds, and to renew others; his stay, however, was very short on that occasion, but he again left London in July following. In the intervals between his journeys he busied himself in superintending the building of his house in Bishopsgate-street. The troubles in the Low Countries were in the meantime greatly on the increase; nevertheless Gresham's visits, on account of the Queen's debts, and the mercantile speculations in which he was engaged, were paid with great regularity—his complaints of some "unmanageable creditors" being neither few nor small.

While in England he seems to have resided for a large portion of his time at Intwood Hall; which, however, at the suggestion or wish of his lady, he exchanged for that of Osterley, at which place he dwelt until the completion of his mansion in Bishopsgate-street. In 1564 he lost his only son, Richard, an event which was to him a very heavy calamity.

We now come to the period when Gresham succeeded in bringing forward his favourite project—the erection of a "burse" or exchange.

On the 4th of January, 1564-5, a proposal was made to the

court by Sir Thomas Gresham, (through his servant Anthony Strynger,) that a Burse or Exchange should be built in London at his expense for the accommodation of merchants, provided a site was found on which the edifice might be conveniently erected. There is no doubt that this spirited proposal was the result, in a measure, of the domestic calamity which its author had just before experienced; and that he sought by this means both to employ usefully a portion of the wealth which he must then have regarded as a superfluous acquisition; and to divert the melancholy which the bereavement itself was so naturally calculated to inspire.

The want of such a building was at that time severely felt in London. Hitherto, Lombard-street had been used for this purpose: and here "the merchants and tradesmen, as well English as strangers, for their generall making of bargaines, contracts, and commerce, ... did usually meete twice every day,"—at noon, and in the evening: "but their meetings were unpleasant and troublesome, by reason of walking and talking in an open narrow streete, ... being there constrained either to endure all extreamities of weather, viz. heat and cold, snow and raine; or else to shelter themselves in shoppes."* "How the Exchange passeth in Lombarde-street," is a phrase of frequent recurrence in Sir Thomas Gresham's early letters; as well as the words "every streete," which require no explanation.

At how remote a period this locality acquired its name is not known; but we are informed that Edward the Second, in 1318 or 19, "confirmed a messuage sometime belonging to Robert Turke, abutting on Lombard-street towards the south, and towards the Cornhill on the north, for the merchants of Florence; which proveth that street to have had the name of Lombard-street before the reign of Edward the Second:" that is to say, its antiquity is carried back as far as the close of the thirteenth century; at which period it was a place of resort

* Stowe's Chronicle, ed. 1631, p. 668.

for foreign merchants.* It was so called from the Italian traders who first settled in this metropolis, and probably made that street their favourite haunt: for, with the same laxity of expression that the term 'Indians' is used by ourselves at the present day, our ancestors, by the general appellation of *Lombards*, designated the merchants of the four republics of Genoa, Lucca, Florence, and Venice. These early traffickers succeeded and supplanted the Jews as money-dealers; having obtained a footing in this country as agents for such of the Italian clergy as enjoyed benefices in England. The latter were unable to draw the produce of their livings without the intervention of the Lombards; who, sometimes in specie, and sometimes in wool, made their remittances. Far oftener, however, this was done by bills of exchange: and from this small beginning arose the gigantic trade, whose incalculable results now surround us on every side. The connexion with Rome just glanced at, will suffice to explain the meaning of the following passage in Stowe; who gives us to understand that the customary 'feat of merchandise' was not exclusively performed in Lombard-street. "As the merchants," says he, "met here for traffick, so the Pope's merchants also chaffered here for their commodities; and had good markets for their Wafer-cakes sanctified at Rome, their Pardons, &c. For so I read in an old book printed anno 1545: 'This *fine flour* have they made the chiefest of all their trish-trash. I pray thee, gentle reader, were not his *Pardoners*, merchants to them? Yea, it is well known that their *Pardons*, and other of their trumpery, hath been bought and sold in Lombard-street . . . . . as thou wilt buy and sell a horse in Smithfield.'"

We are told that as early as the year 1534 or 5, the practice of assembling here had been found inconvenient, and that the

* In the year 1296, Pope Bonifice III. recommended to Edward the First's protection certain merchants of Lucca coming over. (Fædera, vol. ii. p. 705.) These were Lombards. Anderson says they came out of Italy before 1274, (vol. i. p. 406.)

citizens had frequently deliberated in common-council on the propriety of transferring their place of resort to some more convenient locality. By royal letters addressed to them in the same year, Leadenhall had been proposed as a building adapted to their purpose; but whether from attachment to the street, (in and about which it is probable that many of the principal merchants resided,) or from that proneness to resist innovation, even in a small matter, which, fortunately, does not yet seem altogether extinct among us,—from whatever motive, the proposal was rejected by a show of hands. Nor was Sir Richard Gresham more successful, four years after, in accomplishing his spirited scheme for the public benefit; though he wisely attended to the prejudices of his fellow-citizens, and proposed to erect his 'goodely Bursse' in the very spot which had hitherto been the scene of their meetings. In truth, it rarely falls to the lot of those who first devise any great project, to live to see their plans carried into execution.

The time for the erection of a Burse had, however, at last arrived: the merchants and citizens, says Stowe, "had already had many thoughts and counsels" on the subject,—being, doubtless, most powerfully moved thereto, by the necessity which had now become apparent of taking some such decided step, in consequence of the immense number of merchant-strangers, whom the troubles in the Low Countries and in France had driven to London: and when Sir Thomas Gresham came forward with the munificient offer to defray the expenses of the building, provided a site was found to build upon, a subscription was readily entered into for the purpose, and the ground on which the Exchange now stands was conveyed to him.

Out of respect to the chronicler who showed the greatest partiality to the city of London by preserving the memory of its antiquities, and recording the names and actions of its worthies, the brief narrative which he has left of the preceding occurrences shall be here inserted: reserving for a subsequent page the details which it would be improper to produce, until the progress of our story suggests their insertion.

"In the year 1566," says Stowe,* "certaine houses upon Cornhill, and the like upon the backe thereof, in the warde of Brodestreete, with three allies, the first called Swan-alley opening into Corn-hill; the second called New-alley, passing through, out of Cornhill into Brodestreete warde, even against S. Bartilmew Lane; the third called S. Christopher's alley opening into Brodestrette warde, and into S. Christopher's parrish; conteynning, in all, foure score householders,—were first purchased by the citizens of London for more than £3,532, and were solde for £478 to such persons as shoulde take them down, and carrie the stuffe from thence. Also the ground, or plot, wars made plaine at the charges of the citie, and then possession thereof was by certaine aldermen, in name of the whole citizens, given to Sir Thomas Gresham, Knight, Agent to the Queene's highnesse, thereupon to builde a burse, or place for merchants to assemble in, at his own proper charges: and hee on the seventh of June laying the first stone of the foundation, being bricke, accompanied with some aldermen, every of them laid a piece of gold; which the workemen tooke up, and forthwith followed upon the same with such diligence, that by the moneth of November in the year 1567, the same was covered with slate, and shortly after fully finished."

It seems that the edifice was stuccoed over in imitation of stone. A huge grasshopper, we find, was stationed over each of the four corners of the building; and the crest of the founder also surmounted a lofty Corinthian column, which was placed outside the north entrance, overlooking the quadrangle. It is remarkable, however, if this column really existed, that the only trace of it should be supplied by an engraved view; for it must have been a conspicuous object,

* Survey, ed, 1754, i. 475.—The Ironmonger's Company subscribed £75 towards the purchasing of the site. This was in 1565. [Herbert's History, &c. i. 121.] In Stowe's Chronicle, (ed. 1631, p. 668,) it is stated, that "upon good advice, the citizens of London bought divers times houses and tenements in Cornehill, and pulled them done, and made the ground faire and plaine to build upon; the charges whereof cost them above £5000."

commanding an extensive view of the environs of London; and, like the Monument, sufficiently capacious to accommodate observers on its summit. The grasshopper was also to be seen glistening on the summit of the square tower beside the south entrance, ; and as Bishop Hall has recorded in one of his satires, where he draws a picture of "the brain-sick youth:"

> "And now he plies *the news-full grasshopper*,
> Of voyages and ventures to inquire.

The Burse was supported on arches, having covered walks, and being adorned with statues of several of the sovereigns of England, as already mentioned. It had also, as was the case up to the period of its recent destruction, a statue of Sir Thomas Gresham near the north end of the western piazza, — the date of the erection of which is not known, but there occurs a Latin epigram on the subject in a little volume of poems published in 1629; and it is a remarkable fact, which was noticed and recorded at the time by several writers, that when, in the great fire of 1666, the Exchange was consumed, and statues of the kings displaced by the violence of the conflagration, that of Sir Thomas Gresham, the founder, alone retained its station uninjured. "The Exchange, a sad sight," says the communicative Pepys in his Diary, under 5th September, 1666; "nothing standing there of all the statues or pillars, but Sir Thomas Gresham's picture in the corner." A similar observation was made by Mr. John Evelyn, Edward Waterhouse, T. Vincent, Samuel Rolle, and others.

The interest which Richard Clough took in this undertaking, may be inferred from the sentiments he had already expressed on the subject in 1561; and Fuller would have us believe, that he was something more than a zealous promoter of the work. "There want not," says that amiable writer, "who will avouch that some thousands of pounds were disbursed by him for the building of the Burse, or Royal Exchange;" and it must be

owned, that his expressions in the letter we have elsewhere quoted are in favour of Fuller's story, though other evidence is altogether wanting to substantiate the fact.

"The form of the building," says a contemporary writer, "is quadrate, with walks round the mayne building supported with pillars of marble; over which walkes is a place for the sale of all kinde of wares, richly stored with varietie of all sorts." Hentzer, the German, when he visited England in 1598, was evidently struck with its appearance. "It has a great effect," says he, "whether you consider the stateliness of the building, the assemblage of different nations, or the quantities of merchandise." There were, in fact, walks above as well as below; the upper part of the building being divided into no less than one hundred small shops, from the rents of which Gresham proposed, in part, to reimburse himself for his outlay in its erection. An equal number of vaults were also dug beneath, adapted for the reception of merchandise; but these were found to be so dark and damp, that they soon became of little value.

Desirable for the display of wares as a shop must have been in a place of so much resort as the Burse, we learn from the chronicler who interested himself most in the history of the city, that for two or three years after its erection the shops remained 'in a manner empty.' Queen Elizabeth, however, having signified her intention of visiting the founder, and in person inspecting and naming his edifice, Gresham naturally became anxious to improve its appearance, and render it fitter for the reception of his royal guest. "He went," in consequence, says Stowe, "twise in one day round about the upper pawne, and besought those few shoppe-keepers then present, and they would furnish and adorne with wares, and waxe lights, as many shops as they either could or would, and they should have all those shops so furnished rent-free that yeere; which, other wayes, at that time was forty-shillings a shoppe by the yeere: and within two yeres after, he raysed that rent unto foure marks a yeere; and within a while after

that, hee raised his rent of every shoppe unto four pounds tenne shillings a yeere, and then all shoppes were well furnished according to that time; for then the milliners or haberdashers in that place solde mouse-trappes, bird-cages, shooing-horns, lanthorns, and Jewes-trumpes, &c. There was also at that time that kept shoppes in the upper pawne of the Royall Exchange—armorers, that solde both olde and new armor, apothecaries, booke-sellers, goldsmiths, and glass-sellers; although now it is as plenteously stored with all kinde of rich wares and fine commodities, as any particular place in Europe. Unto which place many forraine Princes dayly send, to be served of the best sort."

It was in consequence of the season of the year at which Queen Elizabeth made her progress into the city, that Gresham required the aid of illumination to set off the Burse to advantage. Stowe relates, that on the 23rd of January, 1570-1, "the Queen's Majesty, attended with her nobility, came from her house at the Strande, called Somerset-House, and entered the citie by Temple-bar, through Fleete-streete, Cheap, and so by the north side of the Burse, to Sir Thomas Gresham's in Bishopsgate-streete, where she dined. After dinner, her Majestie returning through Cornhill, entered the Burse on the south side; and after that she had viewed every part thereof above the ground, especially the pawne, which was richly furnished with all sorts of the finest wares in the city, she caused the same Burse by an herralde and a trompet to be proclaimed the *Royal Exchange*, and so to be called from henceforth, and not otherwise."—Such is the brief account which has been transmitted to us of the event from which the Burse, as it was till then called, dates its present name, by one who was probably an eye-witness of the scene he describes. The only other contemporary notice to be met with of this memorable passage in the annals of the metropolis, occurs in the accounts of the churchwardens of St. Margraret's, Westminster; where it is recorded that the bell-ringers were paid 4*d.* "for ringing when the Queen's majesty went to the Burse;" and 8*d.* "for

ringing when the Queen's majesty went to Sir Thomas Gresham's, and came back again."

In the collection of MSS. bequeathed by Bishop Tanner to the Bodleian library, is a Latin play in five acts, which bears the following title:—"Byrsa Basilica, seu Regale Excambium a Sereniss: Reginâ Elzabethâ in Personâ suâ sic Insignitum; anno Dom: 1570. Mense Januar: 23° die Monumentum Mercuriale D. D. Thomæ Greshami Militis et Negotiatoris Regii; Qui suis solius sumptibus è solo erexit; dicavitq. tam Mercatori quàm Mercurio." This MS. is bound in vellum, and extends over ninety-five folio pages. The *dramatis personæ* are twenty in number; 'Rialto,' who stands foremost on the list, being the impersonation of Sir Thomas Gresham himself; while Mercury, who is not considered as one of the actors, pronounces the prologue and epilogue. The scene is laid in the Royal Exchange, "Augustæ Trinobantum," *i. e.* of London: and at the end occur these words,—"*Hoc Meum Vivum, I. Rickets.*"

The penmanship of this piece is fantastical in the extreme, and the style of composition insufferably ridiculous. Oblivion has displayed such partiality towards the author, that it has spared us nothing beyond his name; and this account of a play hitherto unnoticed, is inserted merely because, viewed in connexion with the subject before us, the fact of its existence is curious. The piece appears to be of a date contemporary with the event which it is intended to celebrate; and to judge from the style of the binding, &c., may have been a present from the author to 'Rialto' himself.

There is besides extant, an indifferent play by Thomas Heywood; which, as it describes the building of the Burse, and refers in every page to Gresham, must not pass unnoticed in his Life. It is in two parts, and bears the following titles:—"If you know not me, you know nobody; or the troubles of Queen Elizabeth," 4to. 1606.—"The second part of Queen Elizabeth's troubles. Doctor Paries treasons: The building of the Royall Exchange, and the famous victory in ann: 1588." 4to. 1609. Not that this drama is of any importance in a biographical

point of view ; for so many of its incidents are decidedly fabulous, that the authenticity of the rest may reasonably be suspected: but it is interesting, inasmuch as it probably embodies some of the popular traditions concerning Sir Thomas Gresham which were current thirty years after his death ; and shows what marvellous tales of his wealth and extravagance obtained credit with the vulgar, at a time when many to whom he was personally known must have been yet living. Heywood has followed Stowe's narrative very faithfully till the queen comes to visit Gresham, and name the Burse ; but here the poet can no longer restrain his invention. Gresham purchases a pearl, which no one else could afford to buy, and, in imitation of Cleopatra, drinks it, reduced to powder, in a cup of wine :—

> "Here fifteen hundred pound at one clap goes !
> Instead of sugar, Gresham drinks the pearl
> Unto his queen and mistress : pledge it lords !"

It is enough, however, to have alluded to the existence of this play. That Gresham drank a *carouse* to the queen is not unlikely : but there is no reason for believing that the royal merchant was addicted to such royal draughts as Heywood describes. The incident was probably borrowed from the history of Sir William Capel, of whom a similar story is related by Fuller in his *Worthies.*

The Exchange, when it was first erected, was a favourite resort of the citizens, and soon became a customary lounge for idlers of every description; thus partaking of the nature of St. Paul's Cathedral, where it is well known that formerly as many bargains were made as there had ever been sermons preached. That this was the case with the Royal Exchange at a later period, can be illustrated by many apt quotations; but the following extract from the Inquest book of Cornhill Ward, bearing the early date of 1574, shows that the evils recently complained of were coeval with the building itself :— "The Exchange was presented for that uppon the Sondaies and holy daies there mete greate number of boyes and children, and younge roges; who, as well in the forenoone as in the

afternoone, make such shoutinge and hollowinge, that neither the honest citizens who walke there for theire recreation can quietly walke, nor one heere another speake ; neither can the parishioners in the church of St. Bartholomewe, near adjoyninge to the Exchange, or such others as come to the sermonds ; therefore we most humbly praye that the same may be redressed."

The following more enlarged account of the erection of this interesting edifice, together with that of Gresham College may not be unacceptable in connexion with the life of the founder of two buildings, which through successive centuries have exercised so important an influence in the mercantile and literary history of the first city in the universe.

On the 4th of January, 1564-5, as already stated, Gresham's proposition was signified to the court of Aldermen, by his servant Anthony Strynger ; and thankfully acceded to by them. They agreed that Sir Thomas should employ such *strangers* about the making of the said Burse, as he might think proper : and entrusted certain of their number with the task of fixing on a commodious site for its erection. These persons were to make their report to the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen on the following Sunday, at 8 o'clock, in the chapel of St. Paul's church, where they were in the habit of assembling before sermon time. So strong was the attachment of the citizens, in those days, to their accustomed haunt,—Lombard Street, thas it was determined, on the present occasion, that the fittest place for a Burse would be the ground between that street and Cornhill: and it was resolved (on Monday, 8th Jan.,) that the Merchant Tailors' Company should be petitioned for leave to pull down the mansion house in which Alderman Harpur resided, and some other houses adjoining, for the purpose of obtaining a commodious site. To this scheme it is obvious that some obstacles were raised ; for it was abandoned, and in six weeks a negotiation was opened with Dean Wotton for the very ground on which the late Exchange stood.—It is time to state that Alderman Rowe, Gresham's kinsman, took a leading

part in these negotiations; and at eight o'clock in the morning of the 23rd July, was waited on in his mansion-house in Bishopsgate-street, by the wardens of the twelve principal companies, who had been summoned for the express purpose of entering into arrangement for facilitating the erection of the Burse. In the December following, the benevolence and aid of the Merchants Adventurers and Merchants of the Staple, beyond the sea, was solicited with the same object. A copy of the letter which was addressed to them (dated January 1565-6) has been preserved; and is very curious. The sum therein specified and required, was 400 marks; to be paid within two months.

At Christmas 1565, warning was given to the inhabitants to the houses which it was proposed to remove in order to erect the Burse, to vacate their dwellings before the ensuing 25th of March; that is to say, before New Year's day, old style; Jeoffrey Walkeden and Thomas Banister being appointed to negotiate with the several householders, and talk with them. Precepts were issued, in the mean time, to the wardens of the several companies, for levying contributions in aid of the purchase of the intended site. Mr. Alderman Jakeman was chosen treasurer; and Sir Thomas White, Sir William Garrard, Sir William Chester, Sir John White, Alderman Rowe, commissioners for the undertaking. It was settled that by the ensuing month of May, (1566), all should be ready for the workmen "to fall in hand with the foundation thereof:" and that the Burse was to be fifty-five yards in length, and forty-five in breadth: to extend from Walkeden's alley to Jaques' house, —a "litle old house in Cornehill," inhabited by a widow, which "the cytie was driven to bye" for one hundred marks. These arrangements bear date 7th January, 1565-6.

On the 9th of February following, 'Sir Thomas Gresham being at the house of Mr. John Ryvers, alderman, in company with Sir William Garrard, Sir William Chester, Thomas Rowe, Lionel Duckett, German Ciol, and Thomas Bannister, most frankly and lovingly promised,' that within a month after the

Burse should be fully finished, he would present it, in equal moieties, to the city and the Mercers' Company. In token of his sincerity, he thereupon gave his hand to Sir William Garrard; and in the presence of his assembled friends, drank a carouse to his kinsman Thomas Rowe. How rarely do ancient documents furnish us with such a picture of ancient manners!

Thirty-eight houses, of which some seem to have been cottages, a store-house, and two gardens, were demolished in order to make room for the Burse; and of these, thirteen tenements, the store-house, and one of the gardens, which was called 'Canterbury Garden,' belonged to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, and was purchased for 600*l.* Hence the negotiation with Dean Wotton, already noticed. The city finally paid to the proprietors of the soil for the whole number of houses, 208*l.* 6s. 8d.: to the tenants, for their leases, 122*l.* 14s.: and in legal and other expenses, 100*l.* 16s. 6d.: making in all 3502*l.* 17s. 2d.

The householders, forty-six in number, who occupied the site of the Burse, seem for the most part to have been cloth-workers and drapers. When the site on which it was intended that the edifice should stand, had been made clear, the length of the area from east to west on the Cornhill side, was found to be 161 feet 6 inches; and on the Broad-street side, 118 feet 6 inches. From Cornhill to Broad-street on the Swan-alley side, was 198 feet; and on the New-alley side, 149 feet 6 inches.

Towards defraying the expenses which had been incurred, the city possessed 204*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* in unpaid contributions, &c. The materials of the old houses were sold for 478*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*; and twenty of the principal companies contributed 1685*l.* 9*s.* 7*d.* The list of 738 persons by whom this amount was subscribed, in sums varying between 10*s.* and 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* is very interesting. Among the Mercers (whose contribution amounted to 296*l.* 6*s.* 8d.) we recognise Sir Thomas Leigh, Sir Richard Mallory, Roger Martyn, William Allen Allen, and Lionel Ducket, alderman, who gave 10*l.* each. John Marsh, 5*l.*; John Gres-

ham, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; John Fizwilliams, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; John Isham, 5*l.*; Geffrey Duckett, 4*l.*; Edmund Gresham, 5*l.*; Nicholas Lewson, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; Henry Isham, 3*l.*; William Lewson, 3*l.*; William Dansey, 30*s.*—Among the Drapers, (who subscribed 144*l.*) we have Sir Richard Campion, Lord Mayor 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; and Sir William Chester 10*l.*—Among the Grocers, (who gave 281*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*) we recognise Sir John White 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; and among the Goldsmiths, (who contributed 74*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*) Sir Martin Bowes, 13*s.* 6*s.* 8*d.*—Among the Merchant Tailors, (whose subscription amounted to 183*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*) Sir Thomas Offley, 10*l.*; Sir William Harpur (the founder of Bedford free-school, 5*l.*; Alderman Rowe, 10*l.*; Sir John York 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; and among the Haberdashers, (who gave 175*l.*) Sir William Garrard, 10*l.*; and Mr. William Bond, 5*l.*; John Norden, scrivener, subscribed 20*s.*

On the 13th September, 1566, an account was rendered by Thomas Rowe of the proceedings of the commissioners up to that day: by which it appears that, at that time, their receipts had about equalled their disbursements. Previous to that event, however, we meet with a curious entry, showing that the brick layers of the city had been guilty of many misdemeanors, "both in words and deeds," towards Sir Thomas Gresham; jealous, probably, of the foreigners whom he had begun to employ on his edifice. The foundation-stone Gresham had laid with his own hands on the 7th Juue, 1566: and it was on the 13th that it was resolved by the aldermen, to petition him in favour of the English workmen. Whether they were successful in their suit, does not appear; but it probably did not much dispose Gresham in favour of the candidates for employment, that one William Crow, apparently a bricklayer, had been guilty of "very lewde demeanour towards Henrick, the said Sir Thomas Gresham's chief workman."—The only hint respecting the appearance of the Burse supplied by the documents from which we are quoting, relates to the pillars; which are declared to have been "playne . . . . not carved, or otherwise curiously wrought."

When the queen paid her memorable visit to Sir Thomas Gresham, in January 1571, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and all the companies of the city were ordered to receive her in their liveries: 'standing in their accustomed places, heretofore used for the like purpose.'

Immediately after the death of the Lady Gresham, the Royal Exchange, of which the revenues amounted to the clear yearly value of 751*l.* 5*s.*, reverted to the Corporation of the city of London and the Mercers' Company: a patent from the Crown, bearing date the 3rd February, 1614, (12 James I.) confirming them in their possession of this property. It is a curious circumstance, that many years before this transfer took place, indeed immediately after Gresham's death, the Royal Exchange was declared to be in an unsound condition. We learn this from the Inquest-book of Cornhill Ward, where it is stated that, so early as the year 1580, the Royal Exchange was presented as "dangerous for those which walk under; part beinge broken and like to fall downe."—[Angell's Historical Sketch of the Royal Exchange, &c. 8vo. 1838, p. 14.]: and two years after, a frequented part of the same building, "by the insufficiency of the workmanship thereof, and want of good stuff," was pronounced "gretely defective, and very perilous to the walkers thereunder. In such wise as the mayne free stones of the arches thereof have fallen, and a great parte of the same arches are reddy to fall, to the great danger of the lives of persons, younge and old, daily walkinge thereunder, and resorting to the same Exchange." Also, at a certain grate, "right over against the south dore of the said Royall Exchange, in the middle of the streete and common passage thereof, is a greate hole, which of long tyme hath so contynued, to the great danger, hurt, and losse of life and limb, and mayminge of both men and beast, and other comon passers thereby; as namely, the foot of a horse slip't lately therein, a man being on his back, to the greate danger of the horse's legg, and of the legg of the man by the fall of the horse. Sithens which, an ox legg fell therein, and thereby was broke in two." Again, in

1598, the south and south-west ends of the Exchange were presented as "cracked, and dangerouslie decayed." From all of which passages it would appear that the old Exchange was improperly constructed: whether it was built too hastily, of indifferent materials, or in an unskilful manner, it would be hopeless at this distance of time to discover, and useless to discuss—one thing is quite clear, it was not one of the substantial edifices of the present day.

Nothwithstanding the preceding evidence we have the testimony of Mr. John Evelyn and others, to the imposing appearance of the Exchange after it had been erected upwards of seventy years. "I do not look upon the structure of the Exchange to be comparable to that of Sir Thomas Gresham in our city of London," says Evelyn, writing from Amsterdam in 1641; "yet in one respect it exceeds, that ships of considerable burden ride at the very key contiguous to it." He writes from Paris in the same strain:—"I went to the Exchange: the late addition to the buildings is very noble, but the gallerys where they sell their petty merchandize are *nothing so stately as ours in London*, no more than the place where they walk below, being only a low vault." Even the associations which the Rialto must have awakened, failed to seduce him from his allegiance to the city of London. He writes from Venice in June, 1645—"I went to their Exchange, a place like ours, frequented by merchants, but nothing so magnificent." Contemporary with Evelyn lived Samuel Rolle, a clergyman; who has left the following account of this edifice as it appeared in his day. "How full of riches," he exclaims, "was that Royal Exchange! rich men in the midst of it, rich goods both above and beneath! There men walked upon the top of a wealthy mine; considering what eastern treasures, costly spices, and such like things were laid up in the bowels (I mean the cellars) of that place. As for the upper part of it, was it not the great storehouse whence the nobility and gentry of England were furnished with most of those costly things wherewith they did adorn either their closets or themselves! Here, if any where, might a man have

seen the glory of the world in a moment. . . . What artificial thing could entertain the senses, the fantasies of men, that was not there to be had? Such was the delight that many gallants took in that magazine of all curious varieties, that they could almost have dwelt there, (going from shop to shop like bee from flower to flower,) if they had but had a fountain of money that could not have been drawn dry. I doubt not but a Mahomedan (who never expects other than sensual delights) would gladly have availed himself of that place, and the treasures of it, for his heaven, and have thought there were none like it." [Burning of London, &c., part iii. medit. ix. p. 47.]

Overcharged as this picture may be, it is nevertheless a curious fact, that for many years before and after Rolle wrote, the Exchange was resorted to from all parts of London and the country, for the purchase of the necessaries as well as the elegancies of life. Stowe says that it obtained the appellation of the *Eye of London.* The upper walk, or Pawne as it was called, was frequented by gallants and ladies of fashion, and must have resembled, both in nature and appearance, a modern bazaar; which will not appear so strange when it is remembered that at that time, Barbican, the Minories, and the purlieus of Smithfield were inhabited by the first nobility of the land. Donald Lupton, in a little work called "London and the Countrey carbonaded and quartred into severall characters," published in 1632, says of the Exchange—"Here are usually more coaches attendant than at church doors. The merchants should keep their wives from visiting the upper rooms too often, lest they tire their purses by attiring themselves. . . . . There's many gentlewomen come hither, that, to help their faces and complexion, break their husbands' backs; who play foul in the country with their land, to be fair and play false in the city."—[12mo. pp. 157. Harl. Miscell. by Park, 1812, 4to. vol. ix. p. 315.]

It had been the subject of an express proclamation, from the foundation of the Burse, that no person frequenting it should wear any kind of weapon; an order which was renewed in the year 1579, "with addycion, that no person or persons shall

betwixt Easter and Mychelmas, use to walke there after the howre of tenne of the clocke at night; and betwixt that and Easter after nyne, upon payne of ymprysonmente." The lower part of the Royal Exchange, in fact, was not only a place of rendezvous for merchants, but, as we have already noticed, soon became a favourite lounge with the citizens; and its piazzas, like the aisles of St. Paul's cathedral, the habitual resort of newsmongers, and idlers of every description, "Sum tymnes," says an old writer, "the prowde and loftie do walke there to be sene in their heyght and braverie, as well as others of good degre, bothe men and women, spend an hower there for necessitie of recreation." Bishop Hall [Satires, book vi. sat. i.] thus describes

> "Tattelius, the new-come traveller,
> With his disguised coat, and ringed ear,
> Tramping the Bourse's marble twice a day."

Other old satirists have aimed a shaft in the same quarter. The author of the "Letting of Humours Blood in the Head Vaine," for instance, paints an exceptionable character dropping "into the Reall Exchange:" and Hayman, in his "Quodlibets," [1628, p. 6.] has the following epigram "To Sir Pierce Pennilesse," in which he evidently means to be severe upon the needy loungers who frequented *Paul's* and the Exchange:

> "Though little coin thy purseless pockets line,
> Yet with great company thou'rt taken up;
> For often with Duke Humfray thou dost dine,
> And often with Sir Thomas Gresham sup."

Our picture would be incomplete were we to omit to avail ourselves of one or two graphic hints supplied by the Inquest-book of Cornhill Ward. It informs us, that in 1590, "Certain women, maidens, and others, were presented for selling of oranges, apples, and other things at the Exchange-gate in Cornhill, and amusing themselves in cursinge and swearinge, to the great annoyance and greif of the enhabitants and passers by:" and that William Grimbel was presented in 1594, "for keepinge

typlinge in the vaults under the Exchange, and for broylinge of herringes, sprotts, and bacon, and other thinges in the same vault; noysome to the merchaunts and others resortinge to the Exchange." It was probably in order to abate the former nuisance that an injunction was issued in 1607, "that noe manner of fruite, save only orenges and lymonds, shall be sold hereafter at either of the gates or passages." In 1622, complaints were made of the "greate abuse and annoyance done before the south gate of the Royall Exchange, especially at the Exchange tyme, by the standing there of rat-catchers, sellers of doggs, birds, plants, trees, and other thinges, to the greate annoyance and trouble of merchants, gents, ladies, and others, resorting as well to the Exchange, as to the pawnes above the Exchange."

But to the motley group which the preceding extracts enable us to picture assembled in and about this edifice, a character must be added, without which the scene would lack its most grotesque feature. When a bear-baiting was about to take place, the bear-ward previously paraded the streets with his bear, to excite the curiosity of the populace, and induce them to become spectators of the sport. On these occasions the animal was usually preceded by a minstrel or two, and carried a monkey or baboon upon his back. That the Exchange should have been overlooked by such a peripatetic is not to be expected: accordingly, we find presented, "The disturbance and annoyance used by the beare-wards in bringing their beares, doggs, and bulls before the Exchange in Cornhill, and there making proclamation, commonly at the Exchange time, to the drawing together of tumult, and other inconvenience."

There is extant a very scarce work by John Payne, printed at Haarlem in 1597, and bearing the following title: The "Royall Exchange; [dedicated] to suche worshipfull Citezins, Marchants, Gentlemen, and other occupiers of the contrey as resorte thervnto." Under this promising name we have a treatise very little to our purpose; for the author, with a pious motive, had recourse to the not uncommon expedient, of disguising his real intention of preaching a homily, by prefixing

an attractive title to his exhortatory pages. He is the first writer, however, who hints at a source of scandal which was afterwards broadly commented upon by les[s] cautious pens. "In the upper shopps," he says, "as there be honest men and auncient matrons that occupie substantiall and profitable wares to the benefite of the buyers, so ys yt otherwyse of the rest reported. But because men love better gentle admonitions than bytter umbradings, therefore I wyshe bothe yong men and reputed virgins there to wynn credit to the hows and to themselves, by desert of better fame then is abrode; and to be no less honest and chaste yong men, sober damselles and virgins, indede and in proufe, than they are in face and shew, for to stop the mowthes of such yll reporters; eschewinge levitie and wantonnes, with the pride of hart, gate, and apparell; and not to sitt ydlie and gasinge about, but eyther havinge leysure to be profitablie readinge, or as the apostle sayethe, to labor and worck sum good thing with their handes, for their own behoufe and others."

The Royal Exchange was utterly destroyed in the great fire of 1666; on which occasion it was noticed by a shoal of contemporary writers as a curious incident, that the statue of Sir Thomas Gresham, which had been erected in a niche at the northern extremity of the west piazza, was the only one which escaped the destructive influence of the conflagration. "When the fire was entered," says a contemporary writer who undertook to describe the catastrophe, "how quickly did it run around the galleries, filling them with flames; then, descending the stairs, compasseth the walks, giving forth flaming vollies, and filling the court with sheets of fire! By and by, the kings fell all down upon their faces, and the greater part of the stone building after them, (the founder's statue alone remaining,) with such a noise as was dreadful and astonishing." "Sir Thomas Gresham's statue," says Evelyn, "though fallen from its niche, remained entire when all those of the kings since the Conquest were broken to pieces." Samuel Rolle, a clergyman, who, in 1667, "improved" the "Burning of London," "in one hundred

and ten Discourses, Meditations, and Contemplations," (after sundry digressions "concerning the nature of fire,"—"concerning the true cause of conbustibility,"—"touching the nature of sulphur,"—and so forth,) devotes a whole chapter to "the statue of Sir Thomas Gresham left standing at the old Exchange;" showing "how great and particular a respect did the fire shew to the effigy of that worthy knight." [Part iii. p. 188, medit. 51.]

On the 2nd of November, 1666, Mr. Hook, Mr. Mills, and Mr. Jerman, the city surveyors, were requested to prepare an estimate for rebuilding the Royal Exchange. In the following February, (15th), the joint committee of the Corporation and the Mercers' Company ordered the ground to be cleared, and on the 25th agreed to petition Charles II. for an order to obtain Portland stone. To this petition the king was pleased to accede; but the committee conceived themselves to be so much indebted to Sir John Denham, his majesty's surveyor-general of his works, for having furthered their suit, and in other ways assisted them, that on the 16th December, 1667, expecting a visit from him on the following Wednesday to view the Exchange, and streets adjoining, they made "provision of six or eight dishes of meate att the Sun tavern, to interteyne him withal;" and agreed "to present him with thirty guiney peeces of gold, as a token of their gratitude."

Still, though the Gresham committee met frequently, no progress was made in the main object, viz. the rebuilding of the Exchange. The fact seems to have been, that the extraordinary calamity which had reduced the metropolis to a heap of ruins, afforded so much occupation to the city-surveyors, that between the "overmuch businesse of Mr. Mills, and some dissatisfaction in Mr. Jerman," the month of April, 1667, came to a close, without any material steps having been taken in furtherance of the object of the committee. On the 25th, however, unanimous choice was made of Mr. Jerman for undertaking the work: next to Mr. Mills, he was pronounced to be "the most able known artist" that the city then had; and the former architect having

declared himself too busy to perform the work alone, Mr. Jerman, "after much reluctancy and unwillingness, objecting it might be thought an intrenchment upon Mr. Mills his right," yielded to the solicitation of the committee, and entered at once upon his duties.

Jerman's design for the new building being completed, and the royal approbation of it obtained, together with permission to extend the south-west angle of the new Exchange into the street, the building (of which the need was severely felt) was immediately proceeded with: and the foundation-stone was laid on the 6th of May, 1667. On the 23rd of October, Charles II. laid the base of the column on the west side of the north entrance; after which he was plentifully regaled "with a chine of beef, grand dish of fowle, gammons of bacon, dried tongues, anchovies, caviare, &c., and plenty of several sorts of wine. He gave 20*l.* in gold to the workmen. The entertainment was in a shed, built and adorned on purpose upon the Scotch walk." Pepys has given some account of this interesting ceremony in his diary: where we read—"Sir W. Pen and I back into London, and there saw the king, with his kettle-drums and trumpets, going to the Exchange; which, the gates being shut, I could not get in to see. So, with Sir W. Pen to Captain Cockes, and thence again towards Westminster; but, in my way, stopped at the Exchange and got in, the king being newly gone, and there find the bottom of the first pillar laid. And here was a shed set up, and hung with tapestry and a canopy of state, and some good victuals, and wine for the king, who it seems did it."

James II., then Duke of York, laid the first stone of the eastern column on the 31st of October. He was regaled in the same manner as the king had been; and on the 18th of November following, Prince Rupert laid the first stone of the pillar on the east side of the south entrance, and was entertained by the city and company in the same place. [Journals of the House of Commons.]

The reader, who desires fuller particulars concerning this portion of the history of the new structure, may be easily grati-

fied: but enough has been said for our purpose. It only remains to add that the expenses attending its erection amounted to 58,962*l.*; and that for enlarging the ancient site, 7,017*l.* 11*s.* were disbursed in addition: making a total expense of 65,979*l.* 11s.—The Royal Exchange was opened for the reception of the merchants on the 28th of September, 1669, during the mayoralty of Sir William Turner; an event which it was proposed to commemorate in these words, to be engraved on a compartment over the south entrance, inside the quadrangle: *Excambium hoc, anno* 1669, *in cineres reductum, in plusquam antiquum splendorem, Prætore Will'mo Turnero, Equite, anno* 1669, *restitutum fuit.* For this, however, the following inscription was substituted:

"Hoc Gresshamii Perystyllium,
Gentium Commercis Sacrum,
Flammis extinctum 1666,
Augustius è cinere resurrexit 1679.
Willo Turnero Milite Prætore."

Thus far of the building of the Burse, or the Royal Exchange, for such it became; the description of which has seemed to interrupt in some measure the close thread of our narrative. We return now, therefore, to Sir Thomas Gresham.

Lady Mary Grey, at that time a state prisoner, had been under the care of the Duchess of Suffolk; but in the month of June, 1569, she was transferred to the custody of Sir Thomas Gresham, and it was during the period of her abode under his roof, that Queen Elizabeth visited Sir Thomas, on the occasion of naming the Royal Exchange; and the peculiar relation in which she stood to his fair charge, must have rendered the visit a remarkable one. The haughty queen, in all the splendour of royalty, confronting the fallen Lady Mary, would form a subject for a painter. The latter might once have contested with Elizabeth the honours of sovereignty; but her ill-starred family had one by one perished on the scaffold, or in prison; and she, the last and youngest, had by a single act of imprudence lowered herself from the highest rank to the degree of a common

subject. She was even a prisoner, and the queen's enmity was not to be softened by submission or entreaty. Lady Mary may possibly have adopted matrimony as a measure of precaution, in the false hope that nuptials so unambitious in their object, would be sufficiently indicative of humility of spirit, and would recommend her to the indulgence of the queen. This is the view which Fuller takes of the subject. "Frighted," he says, "with the infelicity of her two elder sisters, Jane and Katharine, she forgot her honour to remember her safety; and married one whom *she* could *love* and *none* need *fear*." It was probably thus that her mother, Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, bartered for security the honours of her ancient house, when she ignobly united herself to a commoner, named Adrian Stokes.

How unwelcome to Sir Thomas Gresham this addition to his family was, appears from every page of his subsequent correspondence. Henceforth he scarcely wrote a letter, either to Sir William Cecil, (who became Lord Burghley in the early part of 1571,) or to the Earl of Leicester, without availing himself of the opportunity to urge "the removing of my Lady Mary Grey." In August we find him complaining of the burthen; and again in September he concludes a letter of considerable "pith and moment," with a request "that it may pleasse you to doo my most humble commendaceons to my Lorde of Leasster, [and] that it may pleasse you bothe to have my sewte in remembrans for my Ladye Mary Graye." At the end of a year, the following interesting postscript is appended to a letter which was written to congratulate Sir William Cecil on his convalescence, and return to court. "I have wryttyn to my Lorde of Leassitor to move the Quene's Majestie for the removing of my Ladie Mary Grey, who hathe beene with me this xv monthes. I pray you to sett your good helpyng hand for the removing of her; for that my wyffe wold gladly ryde into Norfocke for to see her olde mother, whoe ys iiii ^{xx} x [four score and ten] yeres of age, and a very weacke woman, not licke to lyve longe."

This pleasing trait at once recommends Gresham and his

wife to our favourable opinion, and tends to acquit them of unkindness towards their unfortunate and unwilling guest, by explaining in some degree the nature of the inconvenience of which they complained. Elsewhere, we are told of Lady Gresham's "bondage and harte sorrowe," which makes it pretty evident that the inmate thus forced upon them prevented them from disposing of their leisure, and considering themselves as masters of their own movements ; in further proof of which, another passage shall be cited, written about the same time, and interesting under more than one point of view. The allusion at the beginning is to a matter of finance.

"Sir, I wolde have waytidd upon you myself for to debate this matter at large, and to doo my dewtie unto you ; but that it haithe pleased God to vissyte one of my howse at Oyesterly of the plague : so that I dare not come to the courte without leve. Albeit, I have shut up my howse ; and I and my wife, wythe all my howse be at London, and doo inteand wythe the Queene's Majestie's leve to ryde withe my wife and howsholde to my howse at Mayfilde in Sussexe, xxxv myles owt of London, if I had dispachid these bondes over. Most humbly beseeching youe as to knowe the Quene's Majestie's pleasure what I shall doo wythe my Lady Mary Gray : trusting that now her Majestie wolde be so good unto me as to remove her from me, considering that she haythe now beene wyth me this xvi monthes. Other I have not to molest your honour withal, but that I have delyvered to one of your masons the iiij pillers of collorid marbill, with their furniture in good order. As knoweth the Lorde, who preserve you with increase of honnor. From London, the xxiind of October, a 1570.

At your honnor's commandement,

Thomas Gresham."

Thus far of Lady Mary Grey. We now come to further notices of Gresham and the exchange. In the vigour of manhood, and when more intent on commercial pursuits, he had devoted a portion of his wealth to the erection of a Burse for

the convenience of others engaged in the same occupations as himself; or, as it is expressed on his bust at Stowe, "for carrying on the commerce of the world." Since the commencement of that undertaking, ten years had now elapsed. The founder of the Royal Exchange had lost the intelligent friend, in accordance with whose suggestions that edifice had arisen; and to whose active co-operation he was in no slight degree indebted for its ultimate and successful completion: he had also lived to witness the most flourishing community in Europe ruined, and reduced to misery by the arbitary enactments of a single individual. Events such as these, may have somewhat cooled his ardour for those pursuits which, when a young man, the example of his father and uncles had in the strongest manner recommended to his attention; and in the calmer moments which he now often passed,—periods of infirmity and confinement, or seasons of relaxation from business which he had no children to enliven,—he must more than once have had occasion to speculate with the eye of a practical philosopher on the vicissitudes of his past existence. He had lived during four of the most remarkable reigns which have ever succeeded each other in the annals of the English history: and his individual experience had taught him how low a value is to be set on the common objects which men propose to themselves in the higher, as well as in the lower walks of ambition. Yet such was the happiness of his moral constitution, that the pictures of the past which his memory brought before him, neither soured his temper on the one hand, nor filled him with visionary views on the other. The experience of a long life had evidently brought him to this simple conclusion: that the cultivation of the understanding and the education of the heart give birth to the purest pleasures, as well as to the most ennobling aspirations; and that the best gifts which a state has in its power to bestow on its youthful members, are sound learning and religious principles. To the accomplishment of this object, as far as it seemed attainable by his individual exertions, he now nobly resolved to devote the

fortune which he had formerly acquired in his country's service.

It was, perhaps, towards the close of the year 1574, or the beginning of 1575, that he had sufficiently matured his plan openly to announce his intentions of founding a college in London, for the gratuitous instruction of all who chose to come and attend the lectures. Not that the project originated at this period—for it is evident that the same, or one very similar, had been for a long time entertained by him; and it would seem that he had been once understood to promise that he would present 500*l.* to the university of Cambridge, where he had been educated,—either in support of some ancient foundation, or towards the erection of a new college. Of this, Alma Mater did not fail to remind him; and the Latin letter which he received on the subject from Mr. Richard Bridgewater, the public orator, is still in existence. It is dated March the 14th, 1574-5; and was followed on the 25th of the same month by another letter, of which the object seems rather to have been, to combat any intention Sir Thomas might have formed of displaying his liberality in London, or at Oxford. London seems to have been regarded by Cambridge with peculiar jealousy. The foundation of a college in that city would, she apprehended, prove prejudicial to the interests of both universities; and she urged as her claim to preference before Oxford, that Gresham had himself received his education within her walls. Simultaneously with this second letter, the university addressed the Lady Burghley, (whose husband was their chancellor), requesting her intercession with Sir Thomas Gresham, and insinuating that it was at that lady's instance, that Gresham had originally promised to endow a college; which they mention as now about to be erected in London, with a yearly revenue of more than 600*l.* To the instrumentality here attributed to Lady Burghley, I we are inclined however to attach little credit, for it rests on no better authority than these complimentary letters; all three of which are written in such a fantastical style, and in such hyperbolical language, that they can pretend to little weight as

historical documents. It seems probable, indeed, that in erecting Gresham-House, its owner had in view the purpose to which it was ultimately to be applied—a supposition which is not a little countenanced by its collegiate air; the great reading-hall with which it was furnished; and the distribution of which its apartments proved susceptible for every purpose of a college. It is however by no means unlikely that so learned and accomplished a lady as the daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, should have confirmed the merchant in his high and patriotic resolve to confer on his native city the remarkable benefit which he now had in contemplation.

Pressing as were the solicitations with which the university of Cambridge assailed Sir Thomas Gresham, he was not to be diverted from his purpose. Doubtless his reason for remaining firm was, that at Cambridge there were public schools already, in abundance; while in London there existed nothing which deserved that name. In the following July he accordingly framed his will, and made every necessary arrangement for the permanent prosperity of a college, which might be justly called 'the epitome of an university.' He ordained that the Lady Gresham should enjoy his mansion-house, as well as the rents arising from the Royal Exchange, during her life, in case she survived him; but from the period of her death, both those properties were to be vested in the hands of the corporation of London and the Mercers' Company. These public bodies were conjointly to nominate seven professors, who should lecture successively, one on every day of the week, on the seven sciences of divinity, astronomy, music, geometry, law, medicine, and rhetoric. The salaries of the lecturers were amply defrayed by the profits arising from the Royal Exchange, and were fixed at 50*l.* per annum;—a more liberal remuneration than Henry VIII. had appointed for the Regius Professors of divinity of Oxford and Cambridge, and equivalent to at least 400*l.* or 500*l.* at the present day.

In this enumeration of the seven sciences, it will be observed that Sir Thomas Gresham has assigned to music a very

distinguished place. Divinity,—at once the most important, and the most sublime subject on which man can exercise his faculties,—stands foremost: astronomy, as the study which introduces him to a knowledge of the heavenly bodies, and most admirable of his Maker's works, naturally follows divinity, and occupies the second place: but immediately after these, and before the mention of geometry, law, medicine, and rhetoric—which are *human* sciences—music is introduced as of a nature so beautiful, that it may reasonably be doubted whether it partakes more of earth or of heaven. It will not, perhaps, be fanciful to conclude from this circumstance, that Gresham was himself alive to the charms of music: be this as it may, it is deserving of notice, that although at Oxford and Cambridge music shares in academic honours with divinity, law, and medicine—Gresham-college presents the only instance in England of an endowed lectureship for the promotion of that divine art.

But a more important inference is deducible from the foregoing enumeration of the seven sciences which Gresham appointed to be taught in his college. In an age when the best and wisest men were divided on the subject of religion, that the sound handling of the science of divinity should have been the principal object of his solicitude, is not remarkable. But it cannot fail to surprise every one who is at all acquainted with the state of learning in England during the sixteenth century, that astronomy should stand next in the catalogue; indeed, that it should obtain notice there at all. When we find the principal noblemen of that age listening to the dreams of the astrologer, and only valuing the study of the stars as they seemed capable of revealing the destinies of man, we are no less surprised than gratified to meet with so unequivocal a proof that, by Sir Thomas Gresham at least, astronomy was not confounded with the foolish art which resembles it so nearly in name. By associating it with divinity and the graver sciences, he showed himself aware of its importance; and probably suspected, if he did not foresee, that it it was capable of being made more useful

than his contemporaries generally supposed. When he founded his lectureship, Copernicus alone had written on the subject of astronomy: the science was specifically inculcated neither at Oxford nor at Cambridge; and may be said to have been unknown in England.

These preliminaries being settled, Sir Thomas further ordained that the professors should all be unmarried men, and that separate suites of apartments should be allotted to them in his house; while the large garden which surrounded it, and the quiet and retirement of the place, he rightly deemed would be highly conducive to the comfort, and most favourable to the pursuits of the scientific persons who would in future make it their residence. But we must now take leave of Gresham college, for we shall be obliged to recur to the subject in a subsequent page. It is enough for our purpose to have noticed the tone and temper of mind in which Sir Thomas Gresham grew an old man; and to have detected the speculations which engaged his thoughts during his declining years. The charitable bequests which he made at the same time, must also be reserved for a subsequent page: but it should not longer be concealed, that immediately behind his mansion, in the parish of St. Peter-the-Poor, he had constructed eight almshouses, for the inmates of which he provided liberally by his will. "In witness whereof," (such are its concluding words,) "I, the said Sir Thomas Gresham, have written this will all with myne owne hand; and to each of the eight leaves have subscribed my name; and to a labell fixed there unto all the eight leaves, have sette my seale with the grashopper; the 5 day of July, in the seventeenth yere of the raigne of our soveraigne lady Queene Elizabeth; and in the yere of our Lord God, one thousand five hundred and seventy-five."

Having thus brought the career of this very wonderful man to a final close, we must, nevertheless, recur once more to his early history, to show the value at which his eminent services were estimated by the respective monarchs whom he had the honour of serving. It is well known that during the reign of

Edward VI. he repeatedly received from the council expressions of their approbation of the manner in which he conducted the affairs of the crown. The young king, himself, was so sensible of the services this intelligent merchant had rendered him, that three weeks before his death he bestowed upon him lands worth one hundred pounds a-year ; accompanying the gift with the encouraging words, "You shall know that you have served a king." The saying was princely, and could hardly have been suggested by his preceptors ; as some writers are fond of insinuating was the case with every rational thing Edward VI. said, and every noble action which he performed.

In relating this circumstance, Gresham probably alluded to Walsingham, and some other manors in Norfolk, granted to him by an instrument bearing date six days before King Edward's death. But although that young prince has left on record his opinion,—"I think this country can bear no merchant to have more than 100*l.*," it is certain that the preceding was by no means the only instance of bounty which Gresham received from his royal master. Westacre-Priory, in Norfolk, which was of much greater value, was also bestowed upon him in the last year of Edward the Sixth's reign. It is now a heap of picturesque ruins : but Sir Thomas made it his residence occasionally; and when he died, the effects were estimated at a sum (1,650*l.*) which proves its internal arrangements to have been as princely, as its external appearance was imposing.

Of his salary it has been already stated that he received for his diet, as it was then called, twenty shillings per day, and this was continued, whilst abroad, during the whole of the reigns of Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth ; that is, whilst he officiated as foreign agent. Compared with the salaries of ambassador at the same period, this allowance seems small ; and in truth, like every other public servant, Gresham repeatedly complained that his salary did not defray his necessary expenses. In order to form an opinion as to how far twenty shillings a-day was a liberal allowance, the reader may like to

be informed what was the 'diet' of other officers of the state when sent abroad. Lord William Howard received 6*l.* per diem, on proceeding as commissioner into the Low Countries in 1558. Sir Thomas Chamberlayne went on his embassy into Spain in 1560, with 3*l.* per diem; and in 1561 with a diet of five marks, or 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Cecil was allowed 4*l.* when he was sent into Scotland in 1560; and the diet of Sir William Pickering, travelling towards Germany in 1557, was four marks, or 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* But then it must be remembered, that the contingent expenses of all these persons far exceeded any to which Mr. Gresham was exposed.

In January, 1555-6, Mary bestowed upon Gresham the priory of Austin Canons at Massingham Magna, in Norfolk, together with several minor benefices. It was to a promise of one of these grants that he must have alluded, when, addressing the queen on the 27th of October, 1655, he "most humbly besought her highness to license him to put her in remembrance of the 131*l.* land, that it had pleased her, of her royal goodness, to give him, towards the augmenting and stay of his living, for the service he had done her Majesty, and for the good service he did intend to do her; which," he adds, "shall be no small comfort to me, and all my friends." In another place he says, that the lands which Mary granted him amounted, altogether, to the yearly value of about two hundred pounds.

That Gresham, in the midst of his arduous duties, was not so thoroughly engrossed as to neglect the refinements of literature, is evident from the acquaintance which he formed and kept up with the most eminent men of his day. During nearly the whole of the reign of Mary, a period of blood and terror, he was absent from England, and it is probable that the persecution then carried on brought him into contact with a vast number of intelligent persons, who were driven by the distracted state of affairs at home, to seek for security on the continent; and of whom so many found an asylum at Antwerp. One of these was John Foxe, the martyrologist, who consoled himself while abroad with compiling his laborious *Acts and Monuments:* the

biographer of this venerable divine states that Sir Thomas Gresham "held him in great account," and frequently made him his alms-giver.

In June, 1555, he had a visit from Sir William Cecil, who mentions in his common-place book that he left Calais, in company with Cardinal Pole, on the 3rd of June, on his way to Antwerp, whence he had returned by the 26th of the same month. But besides Foxe and Cecil, great names are not wanting at this period, with whom he may have employed those intervals of leisure, which, fortunately, even the most pressing duties afford. There is reason for believing that the celebrated geographer Ortelius was one of the eminent characters whose friendship he enjoyed: and if Richard Vestègan and Richard Rowlands were indeed one and the same person, the author of the *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* is also to be considered as one of his friends.—Nor must we in this place omit to notice the poet Churchyard, who found a patron as well as an admirer in Sir Thomas Gresham. He mentions the latter in more than one of his poems; and it was he who, many years after, composed the play and pageant for the entertainment of the queen, when she visited Gresham at Osterley. This interesting character was at once a poet and a soldier, and passed many years of his eventful and ill-fated life in Flanders; where, doubtless, his intimacy with Sir Thomas Gresham began.

Had a more careful life been written of the celebrated Dr. John Caius, co-founder of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, we should doubtless have been able to add his name to the list of those who occasionally dignified Gresham's retirement at Antwerp with their society. In 1556, that eminent man published at Louvain a little medical work, which he inscribed to Sir John Mason, the English ambassador at Brussels; and it is not to be supposed that when in the neighbourhood he omitted to visit his prosperous fellow-countryman at Antwerp. They were both of an age,—had come from the same county — and studied together at the same college. By a

singular coincidence, which Dr. Caius himself records, the one was afterwards engaged in the erection of the college which bears his name, while Sir Thomas Gresham was watching the progress of his Exchange. They were kindred spirits, and must certainly have been friends.

There is also the strongest presumptive evidence that a friendship subsisted between the celebrated painter Sir Antonio More, and the subject of this memoir. They were co-Etonians and their intimacy is clearly referable to a period antecedent even to the appointment of the latter to the office of Royal Agent in 1552—an office which may reasonably be supposed to have collected around him all who needed a patron or a friend. Gresham sat at least three times to More for his portrait: first, in the year 1550—which is the date on a painting that used to hang in the common parlour at Houghton, formerly the seat of the Walpole family. Horace Walpole characterizes this as "a very good portrait of Sir Thomas Gresham." It is a half-length, and represents him nearly full face, with his doublet unbuttoned, and both his hands resting on a table—perhaps a counter. He wears on his head, as usual, a black cap, and in his right hand holds his gloves; of which latter article of dress, by the way, it may not be improper to observe, that when introduced into ancient portraits, it is intended to denote something significant of the person represented. In proof of the high estimation in which embroidered gloves were anciently held, Stowe relates that when Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, many years afterwards brought Queen Elizabeth a pair from Italy, she was painted with them in her hands.

A second portrait of Gresham by Sir Antonio More, is to be seen at Titsey-Park, the residence of William Leveson Gower, Esq. This picture was the property of the Countess Dowager of Northampton as late as 1792; when an engraving of it appeared. The circumstance of its having originally belonged to the Compton family, is not perhaps fancifully accounted for by the residence of the three first Earls of Northampton at Crosby-place,—in the same parish as Sir Thomas Gresham,

and immediately opposite his house. This portrait subsequently passed into the hands of G. Watson Taylor, Esq., and was sold at the Erlestoke sale in 1832, for 42*l.* It represents a man of mature age, sitting in a chair, clad as usual in a solemn coloured suit, with a small cap on his head, and a pair of gloves in his right hand. The engraving by Thew from this picture, does the original great injustice; it was published in 1722, but has since been re-issued, and the date on the plate altered to 1823.

A third portrait of Gresham by More is also in existence, in which is observable the same sober costume as prevails in the others, but to which the painter has evidently devoted very great labour.

If, thus to enjoy the favour of one's sovereign, to possess the respect and gratitude of one's fellow-citizens, and to live in the affections of one's poorer neighbours, can produce happiness, then was Sir Thomas Gresham, at every period of his life, a happy man. No allusion need be made to his immense possessions,—the common boast of those who have written concerning him. It has been feelingly observed, by a more thoughtful pen, that the master of many houses has no home; and, in surveying any one of his mansions, the want of children must have perpetually awakened in Gresham's breast the melancholy reflection of the venerable Cosmo: "Questa è troppo gran casa à si poca famiglia!" Very few indeed were the inmates of his house in London; whereof the apartments were found capable of accommodating some of the most considerable city offices, on the occasion of the great fire. With the exception of an occasional guest, Gresham-house was inhabited only by Sir Thomas and the Lady Gresham; by Gresham's cousin Nowell; and a large retinue of servants: or, if it contained any other inmates, they were, probably, the Reads; children and grandchildren of the Lady Gresham, by her former husband. Gresham must have derived a secret delight, however, from reflecting that, when he should be no more, his house would be the seat of learning; and that his name would be deservedly dear to the enlightened of

all future ages. But we are getting upon uncertain ground, with nothing but probabilities to guide us. Fancy may be only further allowed to suggest, that the walls of Gresham-house must have glowed with many a rare specimen of that school of painting with which its owner was most familiar; for it seems scarcely possible, that one so wealthy, who had been accustomed from his boyhood to reside among artists and the arts, should have failed to possess himself of what was no less beautiful than easy to be procured.

At one time, Gresham's very limited family circle had been increased by the addition of a son and a daughter. The son, Richard, died in 1564, as before mentioned, shortly before he attained to manhood: the daughter lived; but she was not related to the Lady Gresham, though she bore her name. Anne Gresham was a natural daughter, whose mother is said to have been a native of Bruges; but as nothing more is known with certainty concerning her birth, the circumstance must be left in the same obscurity in which we find it. Towards his daughter, Gresham made the only reparation in his power, by bestowing upon her all the advantages of a careful education, and an ample dower. She married into a family of high distinction, for she called the great Lord Bacon, brother-in-law. Her husband was Sir Nathaniel Bacon, second son of Sir Nicholas, the lord keeper, by his first wife, Jane, daughter of of William Fernely Esq. of West Creting, in the county of Suffolk. Sir Thomas Gresham had married this lady's elder sister; so that his daughter Anne married one who *should* have been her cousin.

Sir Thomas Gresham was not destined long to enjoy the repose which age brings with it, and to which a life of energy and action had well entitled him. Holinshed has briefly recorded the circumstances of his decease; which appears to have been occasioned by a fit of apoplexy, as he returned from the afternoon meeting of the merchants on 'Change. "On Saturday, the 21st of November, 1579," says the chronicler, "betweene six and seven of the clocke in the evening, comming

from the Exchange to his house (which he had sumptuouslie builded) in Bishopsgate-street, he suddenlie fell down in his kitchen; and being taken up, was found speechlesse, and presently dead."

Thus, at the age of sixty, after having served the state for nearly thirty years, with unsullied honour and integrity, died Sir Thomas Gresham, one of the most illustrious names of which the annals of our metropolis can boast. He found the credit of the crown, in foreign parts, reduced to the lowest ebb; but raised it by his prudent management, and left it higher than that of any other power: at the same time, by the skill with which he contrived to control the exchange with foreign countries, he may be considered to have laid the foundation of England's commercial greatness; thereby making the balance of trade preponderate in its favor: so that a late writer has not unaptly styled him "the great patriarch of commerce and commercial finance." He elevated the character of the English merchant; and was one of the first to dignify the pursuits of trade, by showing that they are far from being incompatible with a taste for learning; and, in the latest actions of his life, he, in a manner, restored to the state the fortune he had acquired in its service, by numberless acts of public munificence, and private charity. He was a true patriot.

His remains were interred on the 15th December, in the church of St. Helen's, beneath a tomb which he had constructed for himself during his life time; and his body was followed to the grave by two hundred poor men and women, clothed in black gowns, according to the directions given in his will. His funeral was conducted in a style of splendour rarely paralleled in the annals of private life. The expenses attending that ceremony, are said to have amounted to no less than 800*l.*, being double the sum that was expended on the obsequies of one of the principal noblemen of that day.

The costly, yet unambitious, altar-shaped tomb of Sir Thomas Gresham, may be seen in the eastern corner of St. Helen's church. Until the year 1736, it bore no inscription. "So great

a name," says Pennant, "needed not the proclamation of an epitaph. It was, however, then judged advisable to inscribe the massive slab of black marble, which covers the tomb, with the following words, derived from the parish register :

Sr Thomas Gresham Knight
buryd Decembr the 15th 1579.

The rest of the monument is of alabaster, richly wrought, and sculptured on every side with the armorial bearings of Gresham ; the escutcheons on the north-eastern and south-eastern sides impaling Fernely. Until a recent period the whole was protected by a delicate and tasteful rail of iron ; but this had become so corroded and wasted by age, that it has of late been removed, and one more durable but less elegant, substituted. A large window, resplendent with the armorial bearings of Sir Thomas Gresham, the Mercers' Company, and the city of which he was once the living ornament, admits the light of heaven to the spot where he reposes, surrounded by the quaint records of his former friends and neighbours : men memorable in their generations, and who, like him, have left more enduring traces of themselves than tombs of brass or stone.

. . . "When our souls shall leave this dwelling,
The glory of one fair and virtuous action
Is above all the 'scutcheons on our tomb,
Or silken banners over us !" SHIRLEY.

The reader has, by this time, been made sufficiently well acquainted with Sir Thomas Gresham, through his actions and correspondence, to render anything beyond a general summary of his character, in this place, unnecessary : and more than a summary, it is not in our power to give ; since no contemporary has supplied us with any of those graphic particulars which would have given individuality to the picture, and rendered it striking and interesting. He comes before us with some disadvantages, his official correspondence alone having been preserved ; and his office, that of a great financial officer, being of

a nature rather to repel, than to excite sympathy. Notwithstanding this, it may be fearlessly asserted, that his letters prove him to have been an extraordinary man. Acute in counsel, prompt in judgment, and energetic in action; of unwearied activity, both of mind and body; beloved in private life, and honoured in his public station; he would have been the hero of a story, had his spirit been more ambitious, or his conduct less correct.

To descend to particulars, Gresham seems to have had a singularly conciliating disposition. His negotiations with the foreign merchants were always successful, even in the most difficult times. He successively enjoyed the confidence of every minister; was on terms of intimacy, or of friendship, with most of the leading noblemen of his time, whether Papist or Protestant; and, from every sovereign under whom he served, received some marks of personal favour. These are evidences of character which there is no mistaking; and which nothing could impair, but a proof that, to maintain this advantage, he sometimes condescended to meanness or duplicity; or on any occasion sacrificed his principles to protect his interest. There does not exist the shadow of a proof that he ever acted thus; and since we find no evidence whatever, tending to disprove that, from the commencement to the close of his career (Gresham was a consistent Protestant; consistency, in this particular, being a grand touchstone of character with his contemporaries), we make no scruple to admit the positive evidence of a contrary tendency which his letters and actions supply; and believe that he was as sincere throughout, and as zealous as he declared himself to be.

It seems to be scarcely a matter of conjecture, that, from his youth upwards, Sir Thomas Gresham, in his conversation and conduct, gave indications of abilities of a high order, or he would not have attracted the notice of Northumberland, while he was yet a young man; nor have maintained, through life, the confidence and friendship of Sir William Cecil. Neither would Queen Elizabeth, who was, in general, sparing of her

favours, have so repeatedly bestowed upon him marks of her approbation; since he certainly was not of the number of those who, like Leicester and Hatton, owed their success to a handsome exterior, and to their personal accomplishments. The queen had, indeed, ample reason to be proud of her merchant; for while, among the constellation of great names which adorn her annals, that of Sir Thomas shines with no common brilliancy as a patriot and encourager of learning, he was also mainly instrumental in upholding the dignity of her crown, by his sagacious counsels and practical knowledge of business. Like a hidden spring, his influence on the financial mechanism of her policy, can neither be readily detected, nor perhaps sufficiently appreciated by us; but it could not fail to be well known to her: and who shall say how far the subsequent safety of this country is to be ascribed to his exertions? or calculate the limits which are to be set to his influence over our national prosperity?

His two celebrated foundations are, it is needless to remark, lasting monuments of his liberality and public spirit; and his humanity and benevolence are as conspicuous in the almshouses he endowed, and the hospitals he enriched. We are not surprised to find that he distributed large sums in private charity; but over such mild acts oblivion has drawn a veil, which it is useless to endeavour to withdraw. Let it be recorded to his honour, that on the score of probity his name is unsullied; and this is no slight praise for one who had both enemies and rivals to contend with, and who lived in an age when men did not scruple to express their opinions of one another.

It is a mark of good nature, worthy of notice, that Gresham was ever ready to employ his influence with the great, in favour of his less fortunate relations, friends, and neighbours. When his Yorkshire tenants, in 1561, complained of ill usage, he begged Sir William Cecil to write in their behalf to the lord-president of the north: and in the same letter he says, "Whereas my cousin William Gresham was in eleccion to be shryve [sheriff] of the shire, this is instantly to desire you, if he

be put in elexion again, that it may pleas you at my humble suit he may be spared for this year; because he is at no great fardell in his things as yet." Again, writing to Lord Burghley in 1572, he says, "This is to desire you as to have Mr. Stringer's sute in remembrance. As also, this is most humblie to desire you as to extend your goodness unto Mr. Serjent Manwoode, that he maie be no judge at this time; considering there are sergeantes more auncient and of better welthe than he is: wherein your lordeship shall do me a verie singular pleasure, and him no less, because yet his welthe doth not serve to accept any such office upon him." A few passages of a similar tendency have already elsewhere occurred; and if it were necessary, more might be adduced to prove that Gresham was a benevolent disposition, and willing to protect and assist those who required his good offices.

In his person, Gresham seems to have been above the middle height; handsome, as a young man; and, at a maturer period, in all probability, strongly resembling the portraits published of him. It has been already mentioned that he was lame. Gravity of deportment, and courtesy of manners, are hinted at by two old dramatists, as having characterized him; and every means we possess of forming an opinion on the subject, leads to the belief that such was actually the case.

In point of merit, he must be confessed to come far, very far behind Lorenzo de Medici: but the Florentine and the Englishman are not without their points of resemblance. Each sprung from a family which owed its importance to the commercial pursuits in which its several members had been engaged, and each was himself a merchant; though on so extensive a scale, that while the one was called the "Royal Merchant," the other obtained the epithet of *il Magnifico*. Each devoted his wealth to the encouragement of learning, or to purposes of charity; and it was the honest ambition of each, according to his ability, to advance the interests of his fellow-citizens, and to adorn his native city. Of Gresham, it has been well remarked, that in founding a college, an Exchange, and an asylum for the poor,

he showed himself solicitous to provide for the wants of youth, the convenience of manhood, and the necessities of age. Each lived beloved and respected, and each was cut off in the prime of his days.

But here the parallel between them ends. Italy was more than a century before England in literature and art, and Lorenzo flourished in the most palmy days of Italy. Destined to fill the highest offices of the State, and born in a land where it was the sublime privilege of wealth to be able to foster the genius of a Michael Angelo and a Rafaelle, while he imbibed from his infancy a passion for the arts, he found himself at the same time possessed of the means of gratifying so laudable a passion. Gresham was the younger son of a private merchant, who enjoyed no privileges, and whose only honours were those of a well-spent life. He was the maker of his own fortunes, and died while the brightest wits of the Elizabethan age were yet in their cradles.

The Lady Anne Gresham survived her husband many years; living at Osterley in the summer, and passing the winter months at the mansion-house in Bishopsgate-street. So little is known respecting this lady, that it is scarcely fair to attempt to form an estimate of her character: it must be sufficient, therefore, to mention all that may be considered characteristic, and leave the reader to draw his own inferences.

It is, perhaps, not unworthy of remark, that Sir Thomas always mentions her with fondness, and never without an epithet,—"my poore wife." He appointed his "faithfull lovinge wife, Dame Anne Gresham," sole executor of his will; adding, "I doe wholly put my trust in her; and have noe doubt, but she will accomplishe the same accordingly, and all other thinges as shalbe requisite or expedient for both our honesties, fames, and good reportes in this transitory world, and to the profitte of the commen weale, and relief of the careful and true poore, accordinge to the pleasure and will of Almighty God."

It was a natural, filial feeling; and is, perhaps, scarcely entitled to further notice, that she should have expressed her

anxiety, in 1570, to visit her mother, the aged widow of fourscore and ten: yet, when materials are so scant, and our opportunities even for drawing an inference so few, on such slender hints as these must we be content to hang the web of biography. Again, she was sister to the lady whom Sir Nicholas Bacon chose for his wife; and this circumstance alone, did we know nothing else about her, would have been enough to induce a presumption that her mental endowments were above the common order: at all events, that they were respectable. The speed with which in her youth she was persuaded by Gresham to forsake her widowhood, if it does not prove that she was beautiful, does not at least militate against the supposition that the usual portion of female charms fell to her share: but here we must be content to leave these (perhaps not very important) questions; for of Lady Gresham, there remains neither a portrait, nor a letter.

Finally, it must be recorded to her praise, that on the threatened invasion by the Spanish armada in 1588, she subscribed 100*l.* toward the defence of the country; equivalent, in those days, to seven or eight times that sum at present. On the other hand, it seems little indicative of liberality of disposition, that twice after her husband's death, she attempted to derive unreasonable advantages from the property entrusted to her during her life-time.

Lady Gresham died at Osterley-house, at a great age, on the 23rd of November, 1596; having survived her husband exactly seventeen years. Her remains were conveyed to London, and interred in St. Helen's church, in the same vault with Sir Thomas, on the 14th of December following. We have an indistinct glimpse of the heraldic pomp which attended this ceremonial, in the following entry respecting "The funerall of Dame [Anne] Gresham, wife to Sir Thomas Gresham, knight; who was buryed the 15th [*sic*] of December, 1596, at the parish church of St. Ellen's, London. The officers serving ther, wer Clarencieulx and Rougecroix, pursuivants at armes; who received for ther fees, fourtye pounds." Such is Rougecroix's memorandum; and it may not be improper to add, that

the heralds received the same fee, when they attended the funeral of Queen Elizabeth.

Sir Thomas Gresham's widow survived, and was survived by, many members of her own family, by her former husband. Her son, Sir William Read, attained to a great age; being certainly upwards of eighty-three years old before his death: but her grandson, Sir Thomas Read, who married Mildred, second daughter of our old friend, Thomas Cecil, Earl of Exeter, died at Osterley, without issue, on the 3rd of July, 1595, and was buried on the 14th of the same month, in Sir Thomas Gresham's vault. "The Lady Gertruda Reade, wife of Sir William Reade, knt., died on Thursday, being the xxiiijth day of October, 1605; and was buryed in Sir Thomas Gresham's vault, vppon the leaden coffyn, vppon Tuesday, being the iijrd day of December, 1605."

Sir Thomas Gresham's will is, on the whole, a less interesting document than might have been expected. Besides providing for the management of his estates, it contains little more than an enumeration of legacies. It deserves to be mentioned, however, that towards the relief of poor persons, and prisoners in Newgate, Ludgate, the King's Bench, the Marshalsea, and Wood-street Compter, he left the sum of 50*l.* annually; that is, 10*l.* to each of the said prisons: a gift to which seven or eight times the same amount, at the present day, would be barely equivalent. Gresham made a precisely similar disposition of property, in favour of Christ-church Hospital (known before as the Grey Friars); St. Bartholomew's Hospital; 'the spittle of Bedlem, nere Bishopsgate-streete; the Hospitall of the poore, in Southwark' (St. Thomas's); and the Poultry Compter. The care of the former bequest being confided to the city of London; the latter, to the Mercers' Company. In accordance with the manners of his time, the testator further charged his property with the annual expenditure of 100*l.*; to be bestowed on four quarterly dinners to his Company. All such expenses, to the honour of the Mercers be it recorded, are defrayed out of their general funds. It will probably suggest itself to every reader,

that in somewhat the same ratio as it would have been found necessary to increase the sum of 25*l.*, to defray the expenses of a dinner, should the annuities to the hospitals and prisons be increased, in order that the charitable intentions of the testator might be fulfilled.

Behind his mansion in Bishopsgate-street, Gresham erected eight almshouses; and by his will he left to each of the 'poor and impotent persons' within them, an annuity of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* The city, by whom these eight pensioners on Sir Thomas Gresham's bounty are appointed, have liberally increased their yearly allowance to 26*l.*—supplying them, in addition, with coals and clothes: but the almshouses which they erected in 1768, in the city Green-yard, Whitecross-street, form so indifferent a substitute for the eight little tenements contrived by Sir Thomas Gresham, that it may be reasonably questioned whether their founder would admire the change, could he rise from his grave to witness it.

Still less, it may well be supposed, would Gresham have approved of the arrangements with regard to his college, which at first impaired its utility, and eventually led to its annihilation. The *facts* of the case are lamentable, and cannot be too often brought forward and insisted upon. Sir Thomas Gresham left to the city his own mansion; in the vastness of its proportions, and the extent of its accommodations, perfectly well adapted for the purposes of a college. He most liberally endowed seven lectureships, for the gratuitous instruction of all who chose to be instructed in divinity, astronomy, music, geometry, law, medicine, and rhetoric; and, to secure to his fellow-citizens the advantages which he proposed conferring upon them, he appointed the City of London and the Mercers' Company his joint trustees. In process of time, the ground on which Gresham-College stood, became so valuable, we are told,—the trust so unprofitable (in consequence of the expenses incurred in rebuilding the Exchange, after the great fire),—and the building itself so ruinous, that it was found expedient to dispose of the property; and, in the year 1768, an act of parliament was ob-

tained, authorising the sale of the estate: it was, accordingly, disposed of to government, for an annual payment of 500*l.*; and the Excise Office arose on its site. A more unjustifiable proceeding, when all the circumstances of the case are considered, does not exist on record. From that time, an obscure room, over the Royal Exchange, was appointed for the delivery of the lectures; and a pecuniary compensation was made to the seven professors, for the loss of their pleasant collegiate residences. So immensely has ground, in the city of London, increased in value of late years, that had Gresham-College been suffered to remain, or had any reasonable use of that property been made during the interval, the trustees to whom the management of its funds was confided, would have been enabled, long before the present period, to erect a college on the ancient site, whose revenues would have been as immense as its benefits would have been incalculable.

The legacies in Gresham's will, were as follows:—40*l.* to each of his four apprentices—William Gilbert, Philip Celye, John Smyth, and Philip Gilmor. To his servant John Young, 20*l.*, and 10*l.* per annum, 'as long as he doth tarry with my wife:' half that sum Gresham bequeathed on the same terms to Guilliam, his horse-keeper, and Gilles, his servant: to his steward, John Lawrence, 20*l.*, and to each of his other servants, 5*l.* To Thomas Manson, 20*l.* and an annuity of 10*l.*: to Margaret Fernely on the day of her marriage, 100*l.*; and 50*l.* on the same occasion, to his cousin ..... Elliott. To his cousin Nowell, 40*l.*; and 10*l.* a year, 'as long as he tarryeth and dwelleth with my wife.' To 100 poor men, and the same number of poor women, as many gowns of black cloth, costing 6*s.* 8*d.* per yard,—'for to bring me to my grave.' To Cicely Ciole, 100*l.* To his five executors—Sir Lionel Duckett, 100*l*; Edmund Hogan, 100*l.*; Thomas Celie, 100*l.*; Philip Scudamore, 20*l.*; and Mr. Justice Manwood, 50*l.* To his niece Elizabeth Neville, Gresham left 500*l.*; 100*l.* on the day of her marriage, and an annuity of 100*l.* for five years: and to his niece ..... Neville, 300*l.*; 100*l.* on the day of her marriage, (provided she

did not marry before she was fifteen years of age,) and an annuity of 100*l.* for three years. To Harry Neville, when he should attain the age of twenty, 100*l.*; and 'to every of his sons had by my brother's daughter, 100*l.*' Proved 26th Nov. 1579. Bakon, quire xlvij.—Gresham further charged his estates with the following annuities:—"To William Fletwoode, 40s.; Thomas Powell, 40s.; Edward Flowerdew, 40*s.*; James Ryvet, 40*s.*; William Yelverton, 26*s.* 8*d.*; Christopher Rye, 40*s.*; Phillip Scudamore, 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; Christopher Rochel, 5*l.*; Mr. Owen, 40*s.* for their counselles. More to Mr. Doctor Lankton, 40*s.* [a man of indifferent character by the way, Stowe's Survey, ed. 1720, b. i. p. 258. who had been an author in 1547, comp. Stowe, b. ii. p. 167, and Lowndes p. 1095.]; Dr. Jefford, 40*s.*; Rauf Morrys, 40*s.*, William Gotherns, 5*l.* for their counsell and help in phesick and surgery. To William Pernel, 10*l.*, to Hugh Powell, 20*s.*, to the lady Taylboyes," concerning whom we find no notice elsewhere, worth recording, the very large annuity of "266*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; to the Lady Frances Gresham, 133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* In all amounting per annum to 467*l.*"

The pedigree to the Gresham family was published by Dr. Ward in 1740. The introduction prefixed to the genealogy is as follows:—

"A true and exact PEDIGREE of the right worshipfull, ancient, pious, loyal, and charitable family of Gresham, in the county of Norfolk, sometimes residing at Holte, Intwood, Mylcham, Walsingham Parva, and Thorpe Market in the said county; at Founteyness in the county of York; at York; in Titsey, and Limesfield in Surry; at Osterley, and Fulham in the county of Middlesex: wherein are inserted the several marriages and alliances to severall other worshipfull, and some honourable familys. Which family was at once seiz'd in Norfolk of thirty-five mannors, in Suffolk of five, in Cambridgeshire of one, in Kent of three, in Sussex of two, in Surry of nine, in Middlesex of two, in Somerset of two, in Derbyshire of three, in Yorkshire of nine, and of twelve granges, and

severall other *villatae*, and considerable possessions in the same county, and of three mannors in the bishoprick of Durham; as appears by severall letters patent, fines, deeds enrolled, inquisitions *post mortem*, wills, and private evidences, now in the hands of some of that family. And out of which family, within the compass of an hundred and fifty years last past, there has been one baronet, nine knights batchelers, whereof one knighted in the field; one baronet's wife, and nine knights wives of the name and family of Gresham: and have issued from them in that time two viscounts, seven baronets, twenty-four knights, two countesses, five baronets' wives, and twenty-two knights' wives."

Amongst the illustrious individuals who have lineally descended from the family of Gresham, may be enumerated, the Duke of Buckingham, the Marquis of Stafford, the Marquis of Bath, Lord Braybrook, and the Gower family. Sir Thomas Gresham was also related to some of the most eminent men of his time, including the Earls of Oxford, Exeter, and Salisbury; Lord Burghley, Lord Bacon, and several Knights.

One of the daughters of Sir John Gresham, was married to Thomas Leveson, or Lewson, Esq., of Halling Place, near Rochester. Her birth is thus recorded:—"Vrsule Gresham was borne a pon Saynt Vrsuly's daye, the xxi day off October, a° 1534. Mr. Wyllm. Gresham, her godfather; and Mr. Ric. Gresham's wyfe, and olde Mystris Hille, and Christian Gresham, were godmothers; and God make her a good old woman, and blyssyed saynt Vrsula—the Wedynsday." From her, the Duke of Buckingham and the Marquis of Stafford are descended. William Leveson Gower, Esq., of Titsey Park, in Surrey, belongs to the family of the latter nobleman, and can therefore trace a maternal descent from Sir John Gresham, through his son; and a paternal descent through his daughter.

The birth of Mary Gresham, eldest daughter of Sir John, is thus noticed:—"Mary Gresham [the eldest daughter, who became the wife of Sir Thomas Rowe,] was borne the xvij daye of August, callyd octava Sancti Lawrencij, A° dni xv^{c} xxiij:

and my Lady Allen, and Mystris Kyng, and Mystrys Lock,—thes were her godmothers; and Mr. John Worsop was her godffather. Uppon the Mondaye: and God make her a good old woman."

Far more interesting than most of the relationships, indicated in the pedigree, is the following; which shall be given in the words of the intelligent antiquary and very expert genealogist by whom it was kindly communicated—the Rev. Joseph Hunter. "John Gresham, of Mayfield, cousin-german of Sir Thomas, married Elizabeth Dormer, of Fulham. This is in the Baronetage; but it is not stated that she survived him, and married, 2ndly, William Plumbe, of North End, near Fulham, whose will was proved 1st March, 1593; in which, he speaks of Thomas and John Gresham, sons of his wife. What gives something of interest to this connexion is, that William Plumbe was *uncle to Joshua Sylvester, the poet:* as appears by his 'Triumph of Faith.' Now, may not the Greshams have had something to do with placing Sylvester in the situation of merchant-adventurer? The poet was a frequent guest at the house of his uncle and his aunt (by the marriage), who had been Mrs. Gresham:

'I was wont (for my disport)
Often in the summer season,
To a village to resort,
Famous for the rathe-ripe peason.
When, beneath a *Plumb*-tree shade,
Many pleasant walks I ma le,' &c."

Another interesting relationship, pointed out by the same antiquary, is that of the Greshams to the ancient family of Clapham, of Yorkshire. According to Dodsworth, (MS. cxxxv. f. 79, b.) Catharine, sister of the lady of John Gresham, one of the daughters and co-heiresses of Sir Henry Thwaites, married George Clapham, of Beamsley; by whom she had a son, named Gresham Clapham, father of George Clapham, of Beamsley, who married a Heber, of Marton. The wife of Gresham Clap-

ham, was Ann Fisher, daughter and heir of William Fisher, the son of a sister (half-blood) of Bishop Ferrar, the martyr.

The crest of the Gresham family was the grasshopper; as appears by several letters, written between the years 1443 and 1464, by James Gresham; the whole of which are sealed with that well-known device;—a sufficient refutation of the idle tradition accounting for the adoption of that heraldic symbol by Sir Thomas Gresham, and which he had erected over his shop door, in Lombard Street, as a sign. The arms of Sir John Gresham were—the coat of the Greshams, a chief, *or;* a trefoil, azure, between two asses' heads, erased, sable, collared. To which, in the year 1537, Sir Richard Gresham had granted to him and his posterity, the following augmentation: on a chief, gules, a pelican between two lions' gambs erased, *or*, armed, azure.

It now only remains for us to notice, that the Burse, dedicated by Sir Thomas Gresham to his country, and styled the Royal Exchange by Queen Elizabeth, was destroyed by fire, on the night of the 10th of January, 1838. The merchants of London, however, did not suffer it to remain in ruins. The edifice, on a modern and more commodious scale, was rebuilt, after a design by Henry Tite, Esq., R.S.A., architect; and re-opened with great state, and again surnamed the Royal Exchange, by Queen Victoria, on the 28th of October, 1844. We have, as an addition to our labours, presented to our readers three different engraved views of the present edifice.

[Note.—The family of Gresham is so connected with the prosperity of the city of London, that the present work would have been incomplete without a notice of the life of Sir Thomas Gresham. It is erroneously stated, however, at the head of this chapter, that Sir Thomas was Lord Mayor; this is an unintentional error. Sir Thomas Gresham never held any civic dignity.]

WILLIAM BECKFORD, ESQ.

(LORD MAYOR.)

THE name of Beckford occupies a prominent position in the records of the city of London, arising principally from the part he took in the political struggles of the time in which he lived, when the celebrated John Wilkes did so much towards the annoyance of the ministry of the day. He twice served the office of Lord Mayor: namely, in 1762-3, and 1769-70.

Mr. Beckford was a native of Jamaica; from whence he appears to have come to England, at the age of fourteen years. He was immediately sent by his friends to Westminster school, where he studied, with great applause, under the tuition of the Rev. Dr. Friend—then chief master—a gentleman of extensive knowledge in the classics, as evidenced by the many inscriptions upon tombs in Westminster Abbey. Whilst at this school, young Beckford became acquainted with many of the principal nobility, and men of genius; amongst whom may be mentioned the name of Lord Mansfield; as well as those of Dr. Johnson, the Bishop of Gloucester, and the Earl of Kinnoul. During his studies, Mr. Beckford translated some of the classics, which he afterwards wrote out in a fair hand; but the manuscripts were all destroyed by a fire, which broke out in the family mansion, at Fonthill, some time subsequently.

It is most probable that the time of his birth would be about the year 1700, or perhaps 1699; that of his arrival in England, 1713 or 1714. Of his pursuits, after leaving Westminster, we have no authentic record, except that he was an extensive West India planter and merchant. That his career was an active

one, however, and his fortune large, there cannot be a doubt; for we find that, in 1747, he was chosen member of Parliament, both for the city of London and the borough of Petersfield; but, deciding to sit for the former, he gave to the latter £400 for paving their streets, as an acknowledgement of the honour which they had conferred upon him. In 1753, he was again elected for the city of London; a proof that his parliamentary services were approved of: and, at the same time, his brother Richard, a barrister in Jamaica, was, by his influence, returned for the city of Bristol. Richard does not seem to have enjoyed his honours long; for he died in Jamaica, in 1756, leaving his fortune, which was estimated at £10,000 per annum, to the subject of the present notice.

The conduct of Mr. Beckford, in the House of Commons, was of the most spirited description; and his speeches were invariably terse and well put. He was not ashamed to acknowledge that he was no courtier, and that he disdained being one of the supernumeraries attending the throne. During the warm and protracted debates which occurred in the House on the bringing over to this country of the Hanoverian and Hessian troops, in 1755, he seconded Mr. Pitt in every speech made by him against that measure, and declared himself decidedly opposed to all continental connexions; and, in 1759, when the state of the German war was debated, he told the government that the support thereof was more burthensome than even the yoke of an enemy. "We," said he, "pay for everything at a most exorbitant rate; here is, in the last accounts, an article of a drawbridge, valued at £80,000; and I have a letter in my pocket, from a connoisseur in these matters, who declares that, between man and man, it is not at the utmost worth above £7,000; however, the overplus will be a pretty perquisite in the pocket of a hungry foreigner; but, God help us, we must pay for all!"

Nor are there wanting occasions when Mr. Beckford spoke as boldly before his constituents, and even before his sovereign: the general election, in 1761, gave an opportunity for one, and the presentation of a city memorial, to George III., for the other:

of the latter, however, we shall have occasion to speak more at large hereafter.

Mr. Beckford, in addition to the attention which he had to devote to his extensive business affairs, and his distantly situated property, was a member of the House of Commons, an officer of militia, a provincial magistrate, and an alderman of London. It is not surprising, therefore, that accusations were made against him, at the election in 1761, that he had not duly attended, for some time past, his duty as an alderman: and, at a meeting of the livery, for the nomination of representatives, Mr. Beckford attended, in order that he might justify himself. We are told, in the newspapers of that day, that the hall was crowded in every part of it; and when he came forward to address the livery, he was received with the most tumultuous marks of contempt and aversion, by all; for the space of more than an hour, he was prevented from being heard. His resolution, however, prevailed; and, silence having been obtained, he addressed the meeting as follows :—

"Gentlemen of the livery, and fellow citizens,—I thought it my duty to attend here this day, both in justice to you, and to your faithful, humble servant. I had been informed, and my present experience convinces me I was truly informed, that a very unfavourable opinion had gone forth against me, amongst my late worthy constituents. Permit me to say, gentlemen, with the boldness becoming an honest man, that I have not deserved it. It has been my chief pride to be a representative of the first city in the world; and I shall relinquish such an honour with much concern and mortification; but I will not flatter you, in order to obtain a continuance of it. It is my duty to speak out, and act, as I ever have done, with openness and integrity. My abilities may not be equal to those of many other gentlemen whom you may choose to represent you; but I defy you to find any one who will serve you with more zeal and attention than I have done,—a zeal and attention which, give me leave to say, does not deserve the degrading reception I have met with from you this day. But I am informed that I

am more particularly accused of not regularly attending my duty in the Court of Aldermen, and elsewhere, as one of your magistrates. In some degree, I plead guilty to the charge; but I must beg of you to remember that, during the winter, I am engaged in doing my duty as your representative in parliament; and, when I am obliged to attend the House of Commons, I cannot attend the Court of Aldermen; for no man can be in two places at one time. During the summer, gentlemen, I have of late been engaged in doing my duty as an officer of the militia; and thereby promoting, to the utmost of my power, that excellent, necessary, and constitutional establishment; and when I am engaged in attendance upon the militia, I cannot attend the Court of Aldermen. It has been told me, also, that I have given offence to many of you, by not canvassing your votes; I am sorry for it, because I respect you too much, and love the constitution of my country too well, to infringe on the freedom of election; of which, in these corrupt times, this city still continues to give a most glorious example. If you recollect, gentlemen, I did not canvass you at the last general election. I have not canvassed you for the approaching one; and, I will tell you honestly, I never will canvass you; you shall elect me without a canvass, or not at all. This is the defence of myself which I offer to you; and, if it should not satisfy you, I must be content to thank you for past favours, and to assure you I shall still have a seat in the House of Commons, and I will continue to exert my best endeavours for your service, as I always have done."

The burst of applause that succeeded to this spirited harangue, was, if possible, superior to the noisy dissatisfaction which preceded it; and Mr. Beckford accompanied by numerous friends, left the hall, amidst a tumult of approbation; his election being afterwards triumphtly carried.

In 1758, Mr. Beckford was elected to the office of sheriff; and, during his shrievalty, he gave such entertainments to the judges, sergeants, and counsel learned in the law, at the end of every term, as astonished all who partook of them.

Mr. Beckford was elected alderman in the year 1750, for the ward of Billingsgate, and in August and September, 1762, he had signified to the Lord Mayor his desire to resign his gown—a desire which was not attended to.

On St. Michael's day, 1762, Alderman Beckford, against his own wishes, was declared the Lord Mayor elect for the ensuing year; upon which occasion he addressed himself in a speech to the livery, purporting, that if it had been their pleasure to have heard him before their decision had been given, he should have desired they would excuse his taking upon him the office of Lord Mayor, as the ill state of health he had been in for some years past, and the multiplicity of business which he had on his hands, rendered him incapable of discharging the office, which he looked upon to be of great dignity and importance, in the manner that it ought to be; that he had also the highest veneration for the name of citizen; that his family were citizens; that some of them had borne the highest offices, for a century past; and that, as the livery had elected him, he was determined to serve the office to the best of his ability, let the consequence to himself be what it might. In furtherance of his intention, Mr. Beckford spared no cost in preparation: his state coach was splendid in the extreme; and we are told, that he purchased for it, in Holland, a set of beautiful horses; the record of the transaction adding, "In that country, the tails of horses are not cut, as in England." His inaugural dinner was attended by the great officers of state, divers of the nobility, lords of his Majesty's most honourable privy council, the judges, and other persons of quality and distinction; and, during the year, he gave four entertainments, which were said to be the most magnificent of any which had been seen since the reign of Henry VIII.

In 1769, Mr. Beckford was again put in nomination for the mayoralty; but on this occasion, Mr. Alderman Trecothick, and Sir Henry Bankes, Knight, were put up in opposition to him; the two former had the show of hands, and a poll was demanded for Sir H. Bankes; at the close of which, the numbers were—

for Mr. Beckford, 1967; for Mr. Trecothick, 1911; and for Sir H. Bankes, 676; and, such was the determination of the Court of Aldermen, when the two names were submitted to them, that, notwithstanding Mr. Beckford's earnest request, they elected him to the office, by a majority of sixteen to six. He declared his intention of declining the office, assuring the livery that nothing but the sense he had of his own inabilities, prevented his accepting the honour they intended him; adding, that the spirit was strong, but the flesh was weak. His refusal for some time to take upon himself the office, led to warm steps being taken by the livery, about fifty of whom, in fourteen coaches, accompanied by the Sheriffs in their state chariots, went in procession to the Alderman's house, in Soho-square, where they met with a polite and cordial reception. The chairman, in the name of the livery, in the strongest terms of respect, solicited, with much importunity, that Mr. Beckford would, at this important crisis, serve the office of Lord Mayor for the year ensuing, to which dignity he had been a second time elected. Mr. Beckford at last yielded to their earnest request; and told them that, notwithstanding his advanced years, with all his infirmities, he would devote himself to the service of this metropolis, as well as of the nation in general, by accepting the office; and that he would go to Fonthill, for eight days, to settle his private affairs, that he might give up his whole time to the execution of the important trust reposed in him. Mr. Beckford then withdrew; and, on his return, he delivered the following letter to the Sheriffs, which he requested they would present, in his name, to the Lord Mayor:—

"Soho Square, Oct. 12, 1769.

"My Lord Mayor,—I cannot resist the importunate request of my fellow citizens; their desires have overcome resolutions that I once thought were fixed and determined. The feeble efforts of a worn-out man to serve them, can never answer their sanguine expectations. I will do my best, and will sacrifice ease and retirement—the chief comforts of old age—to their wishes.

I will accept of the office of Lord Mayor. I shall hope for the assistance of your Lordship, and my brethren of the Court of Aldermen; the advantage and good effects of their advice were experienced on many occasions during my late mayoralty, by your Lordship's most obedient and faithful humble servant,

"WILLIAM BECKFORD."

This decision gave very great satisfaction; and Mr. Beckford fulfilled his intention of retiring to Fonthill for a season: in the interim, however, he gave the necessary directions for his official equipages, which this year surpassed all others in their magnificence. The state coach is thus described: "The box is adorned with crimson velvet, curiously embroidered with gold; at each corner, is a cornucopia of flowers; in the centre, besides other decorations curiously wrought, are his arms, with the motto, "Libertas pretiosior auro;" under which, are the city arms; and, above, the cap of liberty. The harness is very grand, and the horses very beautiful, being iron greys, with black manes, tails, and muzzles; they are fourteen hands three inches high." A new service of plate, of the value of eight hundred guineas, was ordered to be in readiness for the civic banquet on Lord Mayor's day. Nor did he forget the poor; for on the day on which he was sworn into office, he ordered to be distributed in the parish of St. Ann, Soho, to every poor man a leg of mutton, a half-peck loaf, three pounds of potatoes, and half-a-crown in money; to every poor woman six pounds of beef, one quartern and one threepenny loaf, and one shilling and sixpence in money; and to every indigent family, one guinea. The procession on Lord Mayor's day was most imposing; the crowd being prodigiously great, and the acclamations of the people exceeded anything ever heard before. Among the crowd were a number of men, with blue cockades in their hats, on which were Beckford and No. 45, with the words liberty, porter, and money, as their construction of his Lordships' Latin motto above given. A chronicler of the day, after describing the gorgeous nature of the feast and its accompaniments, with a list of

the distinguished individuals who partook thereof, says, "There were present Lord Temple with a garter more than other men, and Mr. Sergeant Glynn without any garters at all; Colonel Barre with a single eye, and Lord Shelburne with a single heart:" a description which would doubtless be then well understood.

The Recorder of London, however, does not seem to have so warmly approved of Mr. Beckford, as did the other members of the Corporation; from what cause, is not shown; but, in introducing the Lord Mayor elect to the Lord Chancellor, for the purpose of being sworn in, he is reported to have said, "My Lord, I beg leave to present for your Lordship's approbation, Mr. Alderman Beckford, who has been elected Lord Mayor by the Livery of the city of London, and approved by the Court of Aldermen, notwithstanding he is rendered incapable of exercising the office, by an express bye-law of the city." To this anything but complimentary speech, the Lord Chancellor replied, "Notwithstanding the singularity of this introduction, I have the pleasure of being able to give an entire approbation of the present choice of the city of London. The repeated election of Mr. Beckford to the high office of Lord Mayor, is a most honourable circumstance for him; and the long knowledge I myself have had of him, makes me think the choice of such a chief magistrate, reflects honour on his electors. Mr. Beckford's conduct with regard to the public, and the independence which he has always maintained, have established his character for integrity, to which, I am glad to find, the citizens of London have fixed their seal." The civic honours of the year were supported in Mr. Beckford's usual magnificent style.

The political struggles of the period brought the Corporation of London into active operation in support of their own views. In the early part of the year 1770, a petition from the Livery, for the redress of the nation's grievances, was presented to the King, who did not deign a reply thereto. A common hall was consequently held, the Aldermen having joined the Livery, and a strong remonstrance to his Majesty was the result. The Lord

Mayor addressed the Common Hall at great length. He said it was particularly necessary for the Livery of London to behave, in the present crisis, with dignity, order, and decency; because they had been misrepresented, traduced, and abused in the public papers, as a factious, seditious rabble, a turbulent mob, the scum of the earth. He observed, that himself had been grossly abused through the same channels; but that he gloried in such abuse. His speech was loudly applauded; and a strongly-worded address and remonstrance to the throne was agreed to; and, after much opposition, was presented to the King by the Lord Mayor, attended by the usual officers: the Lord Mayor also presented to the King, in May, in the same year, a petition, address, and remonstrance, adopted at a Court of Common Council, relative to the treatment of Mr. Wilks, by the House of Commons, in the matter of the Middlesex election. The address also alluded to the reply of the King to the former remonstrance, which, it was considered, was an affront to the city —an "awful sentence of censure." This second remonstrance was presented on the 23rd of May; and on its receipt, the King, in reference to his former reply, said he should have been wanting in duty to the public, as well as to himself, if he had not expressed his dissatisfaction at the late address; his sentiments upon which remained the same. The Lord Mayor then addressed his Majesty as follows:—

Most Gracious Sovereign,—Will your Majesty be pleased so far to condescend as to permit the Mayor of your loyal city of London to declare in your royal presence, on behalf of his fellow citizens, how much the bare apprehension of your Majesty's displeasure would at all times affect their minds; the declaration of that displeasure has already filled them with inexpressible anxiety, and with the deepest affliction. Permit me, Sire, to assure your Majesty, that your Majesty has not in all your dominions any subjects more faithful, more dutiful, or more affectionate to your Majesty's person and family, or more ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in the maintenance of the true honour and dignity of your crown. We

do, therefore, with the greatest humility and submission, most earnestly supplicate your Majesty that you will not dismiss us from your presence without expressing a more favourable opinion of your faithful citizens, and without some comfort, without some prospect, at least, of redress. Permit me, Sire, further to observe, that whoever has already dared, or shall endeavour, by false insinuations and suggestions, to alienate your Majesty's affections from your loyal subjects in general, and from those of the city of London in particular, and to withdraw your confidence in and regard for your people, is an enemy to your Majesty's person and family, a violater of the public peace, and a betrayer of our happy constitution as it was established at the glorious revolution."

No reply was given to his Lordship, but the whole Court acknowledged that he spoke with great propriety. His whole conduct gave general satisfaction. On attending at Court, however, in order to present a subsequent address to their Majesties, congratulatory on the birth of a princess, Mr. Beckford was not admitted into the presence chamber until the Lord in waiting had ascertained that it was not his intention to speak.

It has been said by some, that Mr. Beckford was deficient in the external graces of manners and expression; adorned with these accomplishments, he would have made a first-rate figure. He possessed a sound understanding, and very extensive knowledge of British politics, especially that important part of it which relates to trade and commerce; nor did he ever disgrace himself by a variableness or inconsistency of conduct. His manners generally were not pleasant; but this did not arise so much from disposition, as from an ardent, impetuous turn of mind, whose fervour be always indulged. This impetuous animation, accompanied with an inharmonious voice and vehemence of action, prevented his public speaking, as well as his private conversation, from receiving that attention and affording that pleasure which from his knowledge and abilities the one might be supposed to have deserved, and the other to have produced. In the House of Commons, he often-

times called forth the laughter, and frequently promoted the langour of his audience, from no other cause than the neglect of digesting and arranging the matter he delivered. With whatever irregularity, however, he might discourse as a senator, he never spoke in that character without conveying very solid information upon the subject before him. He most certainly did not possess that strong, rapid, convincing oratory which draws the heart after it, and hushes opposition into silence; nevertheless, instances are not wanting of his success in even that particular, as may be gathered from the effect produced by his speech before the Livery, which we have already quoted. As a magistrate, he was strict, but not severe; and laid it down as a maxim never to suffer any person, when brought before him, to sign his confession; declaring that the practice was barbarous and tyrannical. His immense fortune fixed him in a state of independence; and he was, therefore, generally in opposition to the ministry. In Parliament, his zeal carried him so far as sometimes to speak upon things with which he was not thoroughly acquainted; however, his views were looked upon to be upright, and his intentions sincere.

Mr. Beckford did not live wholly in England; he was absent, both in Holland and the Indies, on different occasions; his extensive affairs naturally requiring his presence. Of his domestic arrangements little is known, except that in 1756 he married the widow of Francis March, Esq. That he had at least one son, is certain; for we find him, in 1769 or 1770, appointed to a cornetcy in a regiment of life guards.

On the 30th of May, 1770, the first stone of the present gaol of the Old Bailey was laid by Mr. Beckford, when the usual ceremonies attendant upon such occasions, were duly observed, and a treat was given to the workmen, principally at the expense of Mr. Beckford.

Of his private life, this is no time to speak. There are those who have cast a slur on some of his actions, with what truth it is foreign to our purpose to enquire. Youthful follies he might be guilty of; but it is not to be inferred from this, that he

neglected any of the duties which as a husband and father devolved upon him.

In his public duties he was ever prompt, judicious and faithful, pursuing the course which he marked out for himself with strict integrity of purpose, and never suffering his judgment to be warped by private interest. He was not one of those who

"Assume a virtue though they have it not;"

nor would any consideration induce him to neglect what he deemed to be his duty.

In the latter period of his life, when the infirmities of nearly four-score years were dimming his eye and paralyzing his strength, it is not to be wondered at that he should desire ease, and shun rather than court publicity. Hence his frequent and lengthy visits to Fonthill, and his partial giving up of senatorial and magisterial duties.

The record of his death is slight in the extreme. He expired from natural decay, during the second year of his mayoralty, in 1770, being then most probably in his seventy-second year.

Mr. Beckford's unbounded wealth gave him opportunities for private charity which he did not suffer to pass unimproved; and his civic entertainments, as noticed elsewhere, were served with a profusion and richness which eclipsed those of most of his predecessors.

WILLIAM GYLL, ESQ.

(LORD MAYOR).

THE family name of Gyll has been variously written, like many other patronymics, according to the fashion of the age; and although the substitution of the *i*, in Gill, for the *y*, which used to characterise the spelling, was adopted about the period of King Charles I., the present representatives of this house have obtained the royal permission to resume the ancient orthography of their appellation.

Mr. Gyll was the youngest son of William Gyll, Esq., of Boxley, Kent (by Elizabeth, daughter and heir of John Lawrence, Esq. who descended from Sir John Lawrence, Knight, Lord Mayor of London, in 1663), where he resided, and once owned the paper mills, styled Turkey Mills, which he sold to Mr. James Whatman, in 1730, who, in 1739, pulled them down and erected larger and much more useful factories, whereby he realized an adequate fortune, which his descendants still enjoy at Vinters, in that locality. They are situated in a little river which runs on the north side of the road leading from Maidstone to the moat, and were formerly used as fulling mills; but, on the decay of the clothing trade in these districts, they were converted into paper mills, by Mr. George Gyll (father of William), who repaired hither from Dartford, in 1680. George was son of Thomas Gyll, of Dartford, who died there, 1667; whose father, John Gyll, had been a partisan in the civil wars which raged in that county and town in which he was interred in 1646; having removed from his native place, where he was married, June 14, 1611, to Ursula Langridge, of the same locality. He was the only surviving son of his father John Gyll, who lived at Sutton-at-Hone, and was buried there in 1624; a lineal descendant of John Gyll, Esq., of Widdial, Herts, Lord of the Manor and Patron of the

Church, until his decease in 1546. A branch of his family also resided at Eltham, Kent, and bore in the heraldic visitations the armorial ensigns of the Gylls of Herts.

Mr. Gyll came to London, in 1737, from his native spot, Maidstone, which he subsequently endowed, as is seen by the list of benefactors in the church there, and was immediately associated in commercial relations with his relative, James Brooke, Esq., of Lewisham, Kent, High Sheriff of that shire, in 1731, and afterwards High Sheriff of London, in 1738; son of Richard Brooke, Esq. of Hoo, Kent, a branch of the Cobham family of the same place.

In 1747, the subject of these memoirs became a freeman of the Stationers' Company and of the City of London. On the decease of his uncle, Mr. James Brooke, in 1750, he succeeded to the bulk of his possessions; and from this time he contracted a partnership with another relative, Thomas Wright, Esq., of Dulwich, Surrey, who also married Ann, sister of Mr. Gyll, in 1746. This gentleman, son of Edward Wright, Esq., of Aldington, Kent, held a distinguished position in the City, and was elected to the office of Lord Mayor in 1785, and that of High Sheriff of London, in 1780, a year during which those awful tumults disturbed the quiet of the citizens, and menaced the very existence of the capital—better known as the Lord George Gordon riots. These, Mr. Wright, with his official coadjutors, repressed with dignity, firmness, and efficacy; and thus their fortitude contributed to restore peace to the city and obedience to the laws. During the year 1752, Mr. Gyll married Elizabeth, eldest daughter and co-heir of Robert Prowse Hassel, Esq., of Wyrardsbury House, Bucks; and, at his demise, in 1760, he succeeded to his purparty, or fourth shares of his estates; and purchasing the interests of the remaining co-heirs, in Bucks, he settled in the seat of his wife's ancestors, to which they came in 1696. In the meanwhile success crowned his labours, and his approved integrity induced the citizens to elect him to all the municipal offices in their rotation. He became Alderman of Walbrook Ward; he filled the office of High Sheriff, in 1781;

and soon afterwards became Treasurer and Governor of Christ's Hospital, which he liberally endowed, having presided fifteen years: and in 1793, the College at Hertford, connected with that establishment, was by him repaired and embellished—all at his own outlay. His son, Robert Hutton Gyll, Esq. (who died, unmarried, 1792) gave £200 to Christ's Hospital; and his son-in-law, Archibald Paxton, Esq. of Watford Place, Herts, gave a similar donation.

With unusual unanimity he was appointed to the civic chair, in 1788. When the terrible calamity of mental aberration which had so seriously afflicted George III., ceased to operate on the royal patient, the Lord Mayor convened the court of Aldermen, to determine in what manner the citizens should attend his majesty on his proposed pilgrimage to St. Paul's Cathedral, on the 23rd of April; that being the day selected for the general thanksgiving. The Lord Mayor, with the two Sheriffs and the Recorder of London, repaired to Windsor Castle to present the City address, and their combined congratulations on his Majesty's happy restoration; previous to which, it was duly announced in the daily journals, that the chief functionary of the City was to be created a Baronet, which is customary when royalty visits that section of the metropolitan dominions; besides which auspicious event, Mr. Gyll had ever been a favourite with the Right Honourable W. Pitt, having attended his Majesty more than three times before he had quite passed half through his office. On the 18th of April, 1789, the newspapers ("London Chronicle" and "Public Advertiser"), stated, "The Lord Mayor is to be made a Baronet; intimation of which has been given, and the 'letters patent' already prepared, will be announced in the 'Gazette' immediately previous to the day of thanksgiving." Some family reasons, however, frustrated the acceptance of the proffered dignity, which was not conferred; and though subsequently the expected honour was promised to his son, William Gyll, Esq., Captain of the 2nd Life Guards, and 1st Equerry to H.R.H. the late Duke of Sussex, who, at his own expense,

and with the cordial concurrence of his sovereign, raised two troops of cavalry, pending the premeditated invasion, in 1802; an early and unexpected death prevented his family from securing the rank destined for them.

On the morning of the thanksgiving, between eleven and twelve o'clock, the King's carriage arrived at Temple Bar, where Mr. Gyll, having previously mounted his charger, officially presented to his Majesty the City Sword; the King most condescendingly restored the emblem of power with this gracious salutation, "My Lord, it cannot be in better hands: I hope your Lordship is quite well." The Lord Mayor then rode before his Majesty, bare-headed, to St. Paul's Cathedral, bearing the sword, amidst the acclamations of the spectators.

The ceremony finished at the Cathedral, the City dignitaries resumed their places in the Cortege, and the Lord Mayor, arrayed in an ample gown of crimson velvet that covered his proud steed's neck, attended, as the custom is, by grooms on either side, and accompanied by the sheriffs on their horses, richly caparisoned in blue and gold, with tassels of golden fringe, their bridles ornamented with the words, "God save the King," re-conducted their Majesties, with a train of the court, and civil and military functionaries, to the limits of the City at Temple Bar.

In the evening of that day, the Lord Mayor entertained the Court of Aldermen and their Ladies at the Mansion-House.

During the period in which Mr. Gyll filled the exalted station of Lord Mayor, he demeaned himself with great firmness and dignity, and retired from the chair amidst the plaudits of his-fellow-citizens. His desire to fulfil the duties of his office, and his ready access, on all occasions, where his presence was requisite, were principles in the execution of his magistracy, which, added to his knowledge of mankind, endeared him to the praise and esteem of the people. Mr. Gyll had cultivated, amidst the engagements of his vocation, various kinds of literature, and specimens extant of his poetic attainments evince his capacity for it, had the full powers of his intelligent mind been concen-

trated on the art. His zeal in all his commercial relations increased the circle of his friends, whilst it augmented his wealth; and the evening of his days was passed in the village of Wyrardsbury, where he retired from the enjoyment of civic grandeur, and aspirations after earthly glory.

> "And the small quiet hamlet where he dwelt,
> Was one of that complexion which seems made
> For those who their mortality have felt."

Although his constitution, excellent by nature, was corroborated by habitual temperance, yet time and physical ailments (those remembrancers of mortality, and deep-toned monitors of approaching dissolution), assailed, and, at length, precipitated him into the silent tomb; not without awakening his sensibilities and hopes of future felicity, on which he had fixed his thoughts while in the flower of strength and manhood's pride.

His decease took place on Saturday, the 17th of March, 1798, in his 75th year; and he departed sincerely lamented by all who knew him, and justly revered by a family whom he had early instructed to walk in the narrow path which leadeth unto life.

He was interred in his own family vault, in the chancel of Wyrardsbury Church; and, while a handsome monument of statuary marble is erected to his memory, his private history and his active virtues will transmit his character as among the best heirlooms of his posterity. He left a widow, Mary, daughter of John Broome, Esq., of Ludlow, Salop, who followed him in 1820, to the same narrow resting-place; and their son, William Gyll, who married, in 1794, Lady Harriet Flemyng, daughter and heir of the ninth and last Earl of Wigtown, died in 1806, leaving issue, residents in the same village, to whom the parish is indebted for many improvements; and the Village Church, the pride of the spot, embellished with various elegant monuments of the Gyll family, is also enriched with a beautiful stained glass window of mosaic and scrollage pattern, similar to a window once in a church at Cologne on the Rhine, which was presented by a member of the family, and is more fully detailed by Dr. Lipscomb, the historian of the county of Bucks.

SIR EDWARD OSBORNE,

(LORD MAYOR.)

THE claim of Sir Edward Osborne to be ranked amongst the eminent men who have adorned the history of the City of London, rests upon a single gallant deed, performed when its author was a mere boy; yet, one which wins our admiration, as belonging to a school of heroism far higher than the soul-destroying practice of war. Sir William Hewet, a rich merchant of London, who served the office of chief magistrate in the year 1559, resided at one period on the Old London Bridge. Beneath its narrow piers or starlings, the tide of the Thames rushed with great impetuosity. It happened, one day, that a servant-maid of Sir William Hewet, playing with his only daughter, a mere infant, near one of the open windows, dropped the child, which was instantly dashed into the foaming waters. Edward Osborne, who was then an apprentice in the family, immediately plunged into the angry tide; and, at the hazard of his own life, succeeded in restoring the child to its parents. From that time, Osborne became one of the family. Years rolled by: the child thus gallantly snatched from destruction, had ripened into the beautiful woman. The wealth of her father, not less than her own loveliness, procured for her an abundance of suitors; and, amongst others, was numbered the proud Earl of Shrewsbury. The gratitude of her father was, however, deep and lasting. He rejected their splendid offers of alliance, emphatically exclaiming, "Osborne saved her; and Osborne alone shall enjoy her!" The troth of the youthful couple was plighted at the altar, and Sir William gave his daughter a liberal dowry. Edw. Osborne, afterwards knighted, served the office of Lord Mayor, in 1583. The Dukes of Leeds descended from him. Would that all the aristocracy could look back to an equally honorable descent!

JOHN WILKES, ESQ.

(LORD MAYOR).

If notoriety is fame, and success the sign and constant reward of merit, the subject of our memoir was deserving the respect of his contemporaries, and is entitled to honorable mention by posterity. His warmest admirers will, however, shrink from enforcing his claim to the title of patriot, and his greatest enemies must fain confess that he has done some service to the cause of national liberty.

He was born, October 17, 1727, O. S. in the parish of John Street, Clerkenwell, of respectable parentage, his father having, as a distiller, amassed a decent fortune, retired from business tolerably early, and resolved to bring up his son John to the art of spending it gracefully—a science in which his proficiency did great credit to his preceptors. Mr. Nathaniel Wilkes appears to have been a man of liberal tastes; for his biographers take frequent occasions to speak of the hospitality of his establishment, and of the countenance which he afforded to the literary men—the *incubi* of that and some succeeding generations. It is probable that the influence of early associations determined, in some degree, the character of his son, who continued throughout life warmly attached to the pursuits of literature, and was the intimate friend of all the notable men of his time.

His youth seems to have passed in the usual round of studies, a quick and shrewd capacity enabling him to master with ease the ordinary branches of education; and having exhausted all the learning of his tutors, or grown tired of the monotony

of home scenes, he repaired to the university of Leyden, where his progress attracted the favourable notice of the professors. Having completed his allotted tasks, he came home ; and, in his twenty-second year, married a lady named Mead, the heiress of an ancient family, in the county of Buckingham ; but whether it was on account of the disparity of age, the bride being many years older than her husband, or from the effects of his restless disposition, it is now impossible to say ; but the marriage proved a most unhappy one. They lived together for a short time on terms of mutual indifference, and finally separated for ever, in 1757. It redounds little to his credit, that Mrs. Wilkes was forced to institute legal proceedings against her husband for the payment of the annuity guaranteed by the terms of separation.

From this period he turned his attention to the political world, and cultivated the acquaintance of the leading men of both parties ; and never, perhaps, was there a man more calculated to shine as a partisan of polished address and insinuating manners. He found himself a welcome guest in the drawing-rooms of the leaders of fashion, and omitted no opportunity of improving his advantages. Bold and unscrupulous in assertion, with a fluent tongue and reckless disposition, he seemed fitted by nature to play the part of a demagogue. His vices were all of a character for which the public could readily find excuses, whilst his virtues were eminently English. It was felt idle to assail, on the score of personal conduct, the champion who was always ready to proclaim the existence of his own frailties. His bitterest opponents could not say harder things of him than he was accustomed to say of himself ; and hence, whilst his powers of mischief were almost unequalled, it was found impossible to inflict upon him any thing like measures of retaliation. He was one of a small class of persons who never calculate upon defeat, and are never broken by adversity. If the thread of his purpose were broken, he could take it up again at another point. By aiming at all things, he was enabled to accomplish much which seemed hard of achievement

His first appearance as a candidate for parliamentary honours, was made when he was only twenty-seven years of age, when he stood for the representation of Berwick, but was defeated. He was more successful in a second attempt at Aylesbury, for which place he was returned member in 1757, and again at the general election in 1761.

Hitherto he had made no figure upon the political stage; but had, notwithstanding, contrived to become intimate with Mr. Pitt, and others of the opposition, who probably saw, in the present rake, the future agitator. The poor remains of his patrimony had long since vanished; and he was looked upon as a broken and desperate man. It would be too much to represent him as being prompted wholly by mercenary considerations in his choice of party; but there is the undeniable evidence of his own letters against any imputed patriotism of motive. Shortly after the publication of the North Briton, we find him writing to a friend in the following strain:—"If Government mean peace or friendship with me, I no longer breathe hostility; but if they do not find employment for me, I am disposed to find employment for them."

These extracts give us no very exalted idea of the purity of his motives; and making all due allowance for recklessness of speech or expression, we shall be doing full justice to Wilkes, when we ascribe his versatility to choice, and his patriotism to circumstance.

His first appearance, as a political writer, was in 1762, when he published "Observations upon a Rupture with Spain," an anonymous pamphlet, which obtained some celebrity. The condition of parties at this period was eminently favourable to the hopes of an aspiring adventurer. The accession of King George the Third had disappointed the hopes of those who had been led to expect great things from the first native prince of the new dynasty. The Earl of Bute, to whom private memoirs ascribe a position at court which history refuses to recognise, was the all-powerful favourite. The ostensible advisers of the throne were publicly known to be in a state of the most com-

plete subjection to irresponsible influence; and it was only beneath the sheltering influence of contempt, that the ministry could hope to escape the effects of the popular vengeance. A peace had just been concluded with Spain, contrary to the general wish of the nation; and the imposition of heavy taxes to defray the charges of the war, roused the public indignation to a pitch of absolute frenzy. The opposition, led by the famous William Pitt, daily grew in power and boldness; and an ineffectual attempt to form a new administration served only to strengthen and consolidate their forces. On the side of the court party, all was vacillation of counsel and mediocrity of intellect; whilst their opponents numbered in their ranks the ablest men of the age, and were supported by the confidence of all classes of the community.

It is well known that, at the outset of his literary career, Wilkes enjoyed the friendship of Pitt and Temple. The intrepid daring of his character was of itself sufficient to win for him the notice of the dauntless ex-minister; and he must have looked with complacency upon the deadly wounds inflicted by his new and formidable gladiator upon their common enemy. The vices of the man were lost sight of in the contemplation of the services performed by the champion of liberty. There were many as notorious for their want of morals; but who could boast of having done such service to the cause of freedom?

For upwards of a century the power of issuing general warrants had been exercised by successive ministers for the suppression of all opinion which was distasteful to the ruling powers. It was not necessary to specify the names of the parties about to be arrested, nor to found any preliminary charge before a justice of the peace. The minister was the sole judge of the crime, and the sole dispenser of punishment; and it is easy to conceive, that with a servile parliament, and the aid of such an engine of oppression, the authority of an able statesman might bear down all opposition. The mere suspicion of a design to interfere with the repose of the existing order of things, was held to be a sufficient reason for the exercise of this terrible

power ; and repeated instances had shown the extent of its influence in the way of silencing an obnoxious writer, or getting rid of a dangerous mob orator. In those days of unlimited license of speech, it is hardly possible to form an idea of the state of bondage in which thoughts were held only a half-century since.

The first number of the North Briton was commenced in June 1762, under the avowed editorship of Wilkes ; and, for a great period, its existence was only remarkable for his fierce invectives against the Scotch ministry and the Scotch nation. To such an extent was this apparent antipathy carried, that a gentleman belonging to the other side of the Tweed felt himself bound to challenge the writer in the name of his injured countrymen, and but for the intervention of accidental circumstances, the meeting would no doubt have taken place. It is not likely that Wilkes was prompted in his abuse of Scotland by any other than merely political considerations, and a desire to gratify the public, who at this time abhorred the very name of a North Briton ; for we find him afterwards relating an anecdote of a prior date, which we give in his own words, " When I was at Inverary on a visit to my old friend Archibald, Duke of Argyle, his dependents congratulated me upon being such a favourite of his Grace ; I said, it is then, gentlemen, truly lucky for me ; for if I had displeased the Duke, and he had wished it, there is not a Campbell amongst you but would have been ready to bring John Wilkes's head to him in a charger. It would have been only—

" Off with his head ; so much for Aylesbury."

The paper had been established but for a few months, and had reached no further than the twelfth number, when it involved him in a quarrel with Lord Talbot : which ultimately led to a duel. Lord Litchfield as well as Lord Talbot bears a part in the paper, the chief assault against Lord Talbot being a sneer upon his horsemanship at the coronation. His lordship was highly offended, and demanded, first by a note, and then by a message, a disavowal, on the part of Mr. Wilkes, of his

being concerned in the composition of the number, which reflected upon his lordship's name. Wilkes, to whose views an affair of this sort was not ill-suited, contented himself with a denial of his lordship's right to interrogate him upon the subject. An appointment was made between them, and they exchanged pistol-shots at Bagshot, without hurt to either party. Mr. Wilkes having fired, "walked immediately up to Lord Talbot, and avowed the paper."

Mr. Wilkes was now becoming more known, and, from his opposition to Lord Bute, obtained great favour with the public. The North Briton still went on, and Mr. Wilkes also became possessed of a most able coadjutor in Churchill, the poet. In March, 1763, he addressed a dedication to Lord Bute, prefixed to the tragedy of Roger Mortimer, an unfinished play of Ben Jonson. Between Mortimer, the favourite of Isabel, the mother of Edward III. and Lord Bute, he drew a parallel necessarily not very favourable to the character of that nobleman.

Down to the publication of the 45th number, the North Briton had only been satirical and scurrilous; but Wilkes now flew at higher game, and ventured to assail the King's reputation for veracity. The article itself is now a literary as well as a political curiosity, and we therefore extract the famous libel for the benefit of our readers:

"The *King's speech* has always been considered by the legislature, and the public at large, as the *speech of the minister*. It has regularly, at the beginning of every session of parliament, been referred by both houses to the consideration of a committee, and has been generally canvassed with the utmost freedom, when the minister of the crown has been obnoxious to the nation. The ministers of this free country, conscious of the undoubted privileges of so spirited a people, and with the terrors of parliament before their eyes, have ever been cautious, no less with regard to the matter than to the expression of *speeches*, which they advised the sovereign to make from the throne, at the *opening* of each session. They well knew that an honest house of parliament, true to their trust, could not

fail to detect the fallacious arts, or to remonstrate against the daring acts of violence committed by any minister. The *speech* at the *close* of the session has ever been considered as the most *secure* method of promulgating the favourite court-creed among the vulgar, because the parliament, which is the constitutional guardian of the liberties of the people, has, in this case, no opportunity of remonstrating, or of impeaching any wicked servant of the crown.

"This week has given the public the most abandoned instance of ministerial effrontery ever attempted to be imposed on mankind. The *minister's speech* of last Tuesday is not to be paralleled in the annals of this country. I am in doubt whether the imposition is greater on the sovereign, or on the nation. Every friend of his country must lament, that a prince of so many great and amiable qualities, whom England truly reveres, can be brought to give the sanction of his sacred name to the most odious measures, and to the most unjustifiable public declarations, from a throne ever renowned for truth, honour, and unsullied virtue.

"I am sure all foreigners, especially the King of Prussia, will hold the minister in contempt and abhorrence. He has made our sovereign declare, *my expectations have been fully answered by the happy effects which the several allies of my crown have derived from this salutary measure of the definitive treaty. The powers at war with my good brother, the King of Prussia, have been induced to agree to such terms of accommodation as that great prince has approved; and the success which has attended my negotiation has necessarily and immediately diffused the blessings of peace through every part of Europe.* The infamous fallacy of this whole sentence is apparent to all mankind: for it is known, that the King of Prussia did not barely *approve*, but absolutely *dictated*, as conqueror, every article of the terms of peace. No advantage of any kind has accrued to that magnanimous prince from *our negotiation*, but he was basely deserted by the *Scottish* prime minister of *England*. He was known by every court in Europe to be scarcely on better terms

of friendship *here* than at *Vienna*, and he was betrayed by us in the *treaty of peace*. What a strain of insolence, therefore, is it in a minister to lay claim to what he is conscious all his efforts tended to prevent, and meanly to arrogate to himself a share in the fame and glory of one of the greatest princes the world has ever seen. The King of Prussia, however, has gloriously kept *all* his former *conquests*, and stipulated security for his allies, even for the *Elector of Hanover*. I know in what light this great prince is considered in Europe, and in what manner he has been treated here; among other reasons, perhaps, for some contemptuous expressions he may have used of the *Scot*—expressions which are every day echoed by the whole body of Englishmen through the southern part of this island.

"The *Preliminary Articles of Peace* were such as have drawn the contempt of mankind on our wretched negotiations. All our most valuable conquests were agreed to be restored, and the *East India Company* would have been infallibly ruined by a single article of this fallacious and baneful negotiation. No hireling of the minister has been hardy enough to dispute this; yet the minister himself has made our sovereign declare *the satisfaction which he felt at the approaching re-establishment of peace upon conditions so honourable to his crown, and so beneficial to his people.* As to the *entire approbation* of parliament, which is so vainly boasted of, the world knows how that was obtained. The large debt on the *Civil List*, already above half a year in arrear, shows pretty clear the transactions of the winter. It is, however, remarkable, that the minister's speech dwells on the *entire approbation* given by parliament to the *Preliminary Articles*, which, I will venture to say, he must by this time be ashamed of; for he has been brought to confess the total want of that knowledge, accuracy, and precision, by which such immense advantages, both of trade and territory, were sacrificed to our inveterate enemies. These gross blunders are, indeed, in some measure set right by the *Definitive Treaty;* yet, the most important articles relative to cessions, commerce, and the *fishery*, remain as they were with respect to the *French*.

The proud and feeble *Spaniard*, too, does not *renounce*, but only *desists from all pretensions which he may have formed, to the right of fishing*—where? Only *about the island of Newfoundland*—till a favourable opportunity arises of insisting on it, there, as well as elsewhere.

"The minister cannot forbear, even in the *King's Speech*, insulting us with a dull repetition of the word economy. I did not expect so soon to hear that word again, after it had been so lately exploded, and more than once by a most numerous audience *hissed* off the stage of our *English* theatres. It is held in derision by the *voice of the people*, and every tongue loudly proclaims the universal contempt in which these empty professions are held by *this* nation. Let the public be informed of a single instance of *economy*, except, indeed, in the household. Is a regiment which was completed as to its complement of officers on the *Tuesday*, and broke on the *Thursday*, a proof of *economy?* Is the pay of the *Scottish Master Elliot* to be voted by an *English* parliament, under the head of *economy?* Is this, among a thousand others, one of the convincing proofs of a *firm resolution to form government on a plan of strict economy?* Is it not notorious that in the reduction of the army, not the least attention has been paid to it? Many unnecessary expenses have been incurred, only to increase the power of the crown, that is, to create more lucrative jobs for the creatures of the minister. The *staff* indeed is broke, but the discerning part of mankind immediately comprehended the mean subterfuge, and resented the indignity put upon so brave an officer as Marshal *Ligonier*. That step was taken to give the whole power of the army to the crown, that is, to the minister. Lord *Ligonier* is now no longer at the head of the army, but Lord *Bute* in effect is; I mean, that every preferment given by the crown will be found still to be obtained by *his* enormous influence, and to be bestowed only on the creatures of the *Scottish* faction. The nation is still in the same deplorable state while *he* governs, and can make the tools of *his* power pursue the same odious measures. Such a retreat, as he intends, can only mean

the personal indemnity, which, I hope, guilt will never find from an injured nation. The negotiation of the late inglorious *peace* and *excise* will haunt him wherever he goes, and the terrors of the just resentment, which he must be sure to meet from a brave and insulted people, and which must finally crush him, will be for ever before his eyes.

"In vain will such a minister, or the foul dregs of his power, the tools of corruption and despotism, preach up in *the speech that spirit of concord, and that obedience to the laws, which is essential to good order.* They have sent the *spirit of discord* through the land, and I will prophecy, that it will never be extinguished, but by the extinction of their power. Is the *spirit of concord* to go hand in hand with the *peace* and *excise*, through this nation? Is it to be expected between an insolent *exciseman*, and a *peer*, *gentleman*, *freeholder*, or *farmer*, whose private houses are now made liable to be entered, and searched at pleasure? Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, and, in general, all the *cider* counties, are not surely the *several counties* which are alluded to in the *speech.* The *spirit of concord* hath not gone forth among them, but the *spirit of liberty* has, and a noble opposition has been given to the wicked instruments of oppression. A nation, as sensible as the *English*, will see that a *spirit of concord*, when they are oppressed, means a tame submission to injury, and that a *spirit of liberty* ought then to arise, and I am sure ever will, in proportion to the weight of the grievance they feel. *Every* legal *attempt of a contrary tendency* to the *spirit of concord* will be deemed a justifiable resistance, warranted by the *spirit of the English constitution.*

"A despotic minister will always endeavour to dazzle his prince with high-flown ideas of the *prerogative* and *honor* of the *crown*, which the minister will make a parade of *firmly maintaining.* I wish as much as any man in the kingdom to see *the honour of the crown* maintained in a manner truly becoming *royalty.* I lament to see it sunk even to prostitution. What a shame was it to see the security of this country, in point of military force, complimented away, contrary to the

opinion of royalty itself, and sacrificed to the prejudices and to the ignorance of a set of people, the most unfit, from every consideration, to be consulted on a matter relative to the security of the *House* of *Hanover.*' I wish to see the honour of the *crown* religiously asserted, with regard to our allies, and the dignity of it scrupulously maintained, with regard to foreign princes. Is it possible such an indignity can have happened, such a sacrifice of the *honour of the crown of England*, as that a minister should already have kissed his majesty's hand on being appointed to the most insolent and ungrateful court in the world, without a previous assurance of that reciprocal nomination, which the meanest court in Europe would insist upon, before she proceeded to an act otherwise so derogatory to her honour? But *electoral policy* has ever been obsequious to the court of *Vienna*, and forgets the insolence with which *Count Colleredo* left England. Upon a principle of *dignity* and *economy*, Lord *Stormont*, a *Scottish* peer of the loyal house of *Murray*, kissed his majesty's hand, I think, on Wednesday, in the *Easter* week; but this ignominious act has not yet disgraced the nation in the *London Gazette.* The ministry are not ashamed of doing the thing in private; they are only afraid of the publication. Was it a tender regard for the honours of the late kings, or of his present majesty, that invited to court *Lord George Sackville*, in *these first days of peace*, to share in the general satisfaction, which all good courtiers received in the indignity offered to Lord *Ligonier*, and on the advancement of ————? Was this to show *princely* gratitude to the eminent services of the accomplished general of the *House* of *Brunswick*, who has had so great a share in rescuing *Europe* from the yoke of *France;* and whose nephew we hope soon to see made happy in the possession of the most amiable princess in the world? Or, is it meant to assert the honour of the *crown* only against the united wishes of a loyal and affectionate people, founded in a happy experience of the talents, ability, integrity, and virtue of those who have had the glory of redeeming their country from bondage

and ruin, in order to support, by every art of corruption and intimidation, a weak, disjointed, incapable set of ..... I will call them anything but *ministers*—by whom the *favourite* still meditates to rule this kingdom with a rod of iron.

"The *Stuart* line has ever been intoxicated with the slavish doctrines of the *absolute, independent, unlimited* power of the crown. Some of that line were so weakly advised, as to endeavour to reduce them into practice: but the *English* nation was too spirited to suffer the least encroachment on the ancient liberties of this kingdom. '*The King of England* is only the first magistrate of this country; but is invested by the law with the whole executive power. He is, however, responsible to his people for the due execution of the royal functions, in the choice of ministers, &c. equal with the meanest of his subjects in his particular duty.' The personal character of our present amiable sovereign makes us easy and happy that so great a power is lodged in such hands; the favourite has given too just cause for him to escape the general odium. The prerogative of the crown is to exert the constitutional powers entrusted to it in a way not of blind favour and partiality, but of wisdom and judgment. This is the spirit of our constitution. The people, too, have their prerogative, and I hope the fine words of Dryden will be engraven on our hearts:

"'Freedom is the English subjects prerogative.'"

The ministry immediately laid this number before the attorney and solicitor general, at that time Mr. Charles Yorke, and Sir Fletcher Norton, for their opinions upon it. They answered, "that in their opinion, the paper was an infamous and seditious libel; tending to inflame the minds, and alienate the affections of the people from his majesty, and excite to traitorous insurrections against his government." The ministry were highly gratified by this; for, under the pretence of vindicating the throne, they had now an opportunity to revenge their own private injuries. They resolved to prosecute, with the utmost severity, the authors, printers, and publishers of this offensive

paper. The secretary of state for the home department (Lord Halifax,) issued a general warrant, without any information upon oath, and in which only the publisher was mentioned by name; he says, seize "the authors, printers, and publishers," with their papers, and bring them before his lordship.

The first person seized by the authority of this warrant, was Mr. Dryden Leach, printer, in Crane-court, Fleet-street. The messengers entered his house in the night, and took him out of bed from his wife, while his child lay dangerously ill in the room. They likewise seized all his papers, and apprehended even his journeymen and servants. Though all this was done, Mr. Leach, in fact, had no concern, immediate or remote, with either the printing or publishing of the North Briton: and he was confined several days after his innocence was perfectly known. Somebody had told Carrington the messenger, that Mr. Wilkes had been seen going into Leach's house; and this was all the foundation which they had for taking the latter gentleman, and all his workmen, &c. in custody.

On the same morning, (which was the 29th of April) the same messengers, acting under the same warrant, apprehended Mr. Kearsley, who was the real publisher of the North Briton; together with all his servants, his papers and accompt books. They were taken to the secretary of state's office; and Mr. Kearsley was examined before Lord Halifax, and Lord Egremont, (the other secretary of state,) but not upon oath. He gave them all the information he possessed: that Mr. Richard Balfe, in the Old Bailey, was the printer of the North Briton; that Mr. Wilkes gave orders for the printing; that Mr. Churchill (the poet,) received the profits arising from the sale: of the author he could say nothing. The very same general warrant was now issued a third time; for taking Mr. Balfe, and all his workmen, and his papers. Mr. Balfe was the forty-eighth person attached by this precept. At his examination, he was reserved, and said very little: he was not upon oath. Mr. Philip Carteret Webb, (at this time solicitor to the treasury,) and Mr. Lovell Stanhope, (law-clerk to the secretary

of state,) who were both present, declaring that the publishers evidence was sufficient to justify any proceeding against Mr. Wilkes as the author of the paper—upon this opinion, the warrant was sent out a fourth time. By the return before made, this famous warrant had already done more than its duty, and, therefore, it was clearly *functus officio*. Every justice of peace knows, that to apprehend Mr. Wilkes, another warrant should have been issued: and it is certain, that Lord Halifax thought this measure necessary, and intended to put Mr. Wilkes's name in such new warrant; but Mr. Webb said, another warrant was not at all necessary—and as to the naming of Mr. Wilkes, he added, with an emphasis, it was better not. Lord Egremont gave the messengers verbal orders; and on the 29th of April, 1763, at midnight, the messengers of government entered the house of Mr. Wilkes, and, producing their warrant, requested him to accompany them, to prove the document specified; namely, that the officers were empowered to seize the author, printer, and publisher of a certain seditious libel, contained in a certain page, published under the title of the North Briton, and, taking an objection to its legality, he absolutely refused obedience to its power? The officers, confounded by this continual resistance, returned for fresh instructions; and, being met with positive commands from the secretary of state, to take Wilkes into custody, they executed their mission on the following morning, and having conveyed their prisoner to the Tower, they sealed up his papers, and conveyed them to the secretary, when the following orders were issued by the Lieutenant Governor.

"That the warders appointed to keep a close prisoner, shall not presume to leave him for a moment alone, either night or day, or to change their duty with other warders, but by particular law or order from the constable, lieutenant, deputy-lieutenant, or, in their absence, the major of the tower.

"They are to permit no person to have admittance into the room he is confined in, or to speak to him, but by particular order brought them by the major, or gentleman goaler."

The major had likewise a written order, to take down the names of all persons who applied for admittance to Mr. Wilkes. But their triumph was but of short duration; a writ of Habeas Corpus was immediately issued in the court of Common Pleas, and the order of the judge, directed to the constable of the Tower, commanding him to bring up the body of the prisoner, was promptly obeyed. The case was argued in Westminster. The counsel for the defendent denied the legality of general warrants, and after the attorney general's reply on the part of the crown, Mr. Wilkes was remanded back to prison, and the 6th of May appointed for the judges to deliver their opinion. The court was crowded to excess by the members of both houses of parliament, and a very deliberate judgment was delivered by Chief Justice Pratt, afterwards known as the celebrated Lord Camden. The commitment itself was declared to be lawful, *per se*, being sanctioned by innumerable precedents, but it was held that the privileges of parliament had been violated in the person of the defendant, who could only be arrested for treason, felony, or breach of the peace, and, therefore, the court discharged him out of custody. The primary hope of government was thus defeated, but there were other means of vengeance within their reach; an order from the secretary of state, dismissed him from the command of the Buckinghamshire militia, and the attorney general commenced a vigorous prosecution against him for a libel. Wilkes, on his part, was not idle. He made no secret of his intention to brave to the utmost the whole force of the ministry; and finding that few printers cared to involve themselves in the hazards of his political experiments, he set up a printing press himself, and continued the publication of the North Briton as usual.

The influence of the PRESS in its present signification, was at that time unknown, the Times "leading article" had not been invented, and even the debates in parliament were timidly reported, the names of the speakers being mostly disguised, and their noblest thoughts frequently emasculated.

The only mode by which opinions could be disseminated was in the shape of a pamphlet, the circulation of which was of course confined to the metropolis, and the few towns which could boast of a mass of educated persons. It was not until a later period, that the holders of political power discovered the great secret that talent always carries an antidote to the wounds it inflicts, and that the brain of man is a saleable article. At the time of which we write, the assault of a man of genius upon the character of an administration, could only be stifled by a prosecution, or answered by a bribe.

The interval between his release from the Tower, and the meeting of parliament, was spent by Wilkes in France; and the pages of the North Briton bore needful testimony to the favour of his opposition to the established order of things. As he was accustomed to deal as freely with the characters of individuals, as with the measures of government, he got involved in frequent quarrels, and only escaped the hazards of fighting abroad, to engage in a contest at home. Two days after the opening of the ensuing session, he "went out" with Mr. Martin, the late secretary of the treasury, whom he had attacked in a former number of his paper, and at the first fire was dangerously wounded in the groin. His absence from the house at this period was extremely unfortunate, for the minister, Mr. Grenville, aware that he intended to complain of a breach of privilege, resolved to forestal him by bringing down a message from the king, to the effect "that his Majesty having received information that John Wilkes, Esq. a member of the house, was the author of a most seditious and dangerous libel, he had caused the said John Wilkes, Esq. to be apprehended and secured, in order to take his trial in the course of law; and Mr. Wilkes having been discharged out of custody by the court of Common Pleas, on account of his privilege as a member of the house, and having since refused to answer any information filed against him by his Majesty's attorney general, his Majesty, desirous to show all possible attention to the privileges of the House of Commons, and at the same time

solicitous not to suffer the public justice of the kingdom to be eluded, had chosen to direct the said libel, and also copies of the examination, upon which Mr. Wilkes was apprehended and secured, to be laid before them; and the minister then laid the papers on the table. The government had justly calculated upon the result of this step, but the message was met with able and indignant remonstrances on the part of the opposition. The debate was animated in the extreme, and it was urged that Mr. Wilkes had taken no greater liberties with the King's speech than wholesome custom and the necessity of the case warranted him in doing. The spirit had always been considered that of the ministry, and had been commented upon as such in all instances, with justifiable freedom. But this kind of reasoning was not suited to the tastes of the majority; a resolution, that "the North Briton, No. 45, is a false, scandalous and seditious libel, manifestly tending to obliterate the affections of the people from his Majesty, and to excite them to traitorous insurrections," and ordering it to be burnt by the "common hangman," was carried by overwhelming numbers. The quarrel had now become a national one, and if, on the one hand, his adversaries employed the whole force of the government to silence his opposition, Wilkes was not less diligent in enlisting, upon his side, every kind of force which could aid his design of inflicting as much mischief as possible. No legal opinion having as yet been given as to the propriety of the late proceedings in the eye of the law, he made his formal complaint to the house, of a breach of privilege in his person, by his seizure, the plunder of his house, and the carrying off his papers, and the serving him with a subpœna, upon an information in the court of King's Bench. The complaint was perfectly regular, and the court party had no choice, but to consent to fix a day for its discussion, which was appointed to come on two days afterwards; but within a few hours the duel had been fought, and the cause of liberty was nigh suffering a disastrous eclipse in the death of its dauntless defender. In consequence of this untoward event, the debate was adjourned, but the ministry

were resolved to push their advantages to the uttermost. The physicians of the commons were ordered to attend and examine the state of his health, and report the result, but on repairing to his house they were refused admittance. The speaker then commanded his attendance in his place, but the mandate of that officer was treated with equal contempt, and betaking himself to France, his accustomed place of refuge, he left the commons to work their pleasure, whilst his agents at home were actively prosecuting an action in the court of Common Pleas, against the secretary of state, for the illegal seizure of their client's effects and papers.

On the 23rd of November, the consideration of the king's message was resumed, and in a spirit of the basest servility; it was affirmed, in direct opposition to the decision of the Common Pleas, "that the privileges of parliament does not extend to the case of libel, and an address was presented to his Majesty, in which the peers coincided, expressing their detestation of these seditious practices, and their warm affection for his person and government. But the resolution called forth the indignant eloquence of Mr. Pitt, who caused himself to be carried from a sick bed, in order that he might have an opportunity of raising his voice against such a declaration; no man, he said, could execrate the libel more than himself, but he would come at the author fairly, and not by a sacrifice of their constitutional privileges, and, by subjecting every member who did not vote with the minister to the dread and danger of imprisonment, and in such circumstances, how could a parliament be free or bold, or honest? To talk of the abuse of privilege, was to attack the very being and life of parliament. It was an arraignment of the justice and honour of parliament, to suppose that they would protect any criminal whatever. The dignity of parliaments called upon ministers to support and protect the purity of his Majesty's character; this they had done by a strong and decisive condemnation of the libel in question, the risk belonged to the courts below. In the house of Lords the opposition was equally vigorous, a majority was of course attained

by government; but no less than seventeen peers of the highest rank, recorded a solemn protest against the conduct of the lower house, and declared that it was "incompatible with the dignity, gravity and justice of the House of Peers, thus to explain away a parliamentary privilege of such magnitude and importance, founded in the wisdom of ages, declared with precision in their standing orders, repeatedly confirmed, and hitherto preserved, inviolable by the spirit of his ancestors." Whilst the House of Commons was thus cheerfully sacrificing their best privileges, a more potent element of strife was imparted into the struggle; the people took up the cause of the weakest with unanimous eagerness, and all the methods by which popular sympathy is displayed, were resorted to over the whole kingdom. In London, the ferment, as naturally might be expected, was of a dangerous character; the sheriffs, pursuant to the vote of the House of Commons, attempted to burn the North Briton at the Royal Exchange; but the mob rose, attacked the hangman, from whose hands they rescued the paper; and the sheriffs, assailed on all sides, were only too glad to escape with their lives. This daring outrage provoked still further the anger of the Government; the most effectual measures were resorted to for suppressing any further signs of public feeling in the wrong direction, and the House of Commons resolved that the rioters were "perturbators of the public peace, dangerous to the liberties of the country, and obstructors of the public justice."

But there was another tribunal at which the maxims of justice were not construed according to the arbitrary will of a ministry. Wilkes had lost no time in instituting proceedings against the Under Secretary of State for the seizure of his papers. The cause came on for trial on the 6th Dec. 1763, before Lord Chief Justice Pratt, and a special jury; and the judge, having now had leisure to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the law, as it bore against the case, pronounced general warrants to be illegal, and consequently said the whole of the proceedings were unlawful. The decision of the Chief Justice was given, as his Lordship stated, in submission to

the opinions of the other judges, and of the highest judicial authority, the House of Peers. "If," said he, "these superior jurisdictions should declare my opinion erroneous, I submit, as will become me, and kiss the rod; but I must say, I shall always consider it a rod of iron for the chastisement of the people of Great Britain." After such a charge, the verdict of the jury could not be doubtful, and they accordingly found for the plaintiff, giving a thousand pounds damages and full costs. The result filled the popular party with ecstasy; and it was generally thought that the court would be glad of a decent pretext to escape out of the affair. But Wilkes was destined to furnish another illustration of the justice of the great poet's maxim:—

> "The gods are just; and of our pleasant vices,
> Make instruments to scourge us."

Having succeeded thus far beyond his expectations, he went over to France for the Christmas vacation, and from thence forwarded medical certificates of his inability to attend in his place in the House to meet the charge of libel. It was resolved, however, to proceed in his absence with the evidence; and, on the 29th of January, after a long and vehement debate, it was resolved, "That John Wilkes, Esq. was guilty of writing and publishing the paper, entitled the North Briton, No. 45, and that for this offence he be expelled from his seat in this House."

On the same day, the Earl of Sandwich, a nobleman remarkable neither for the extent of his capacity nor the purity of his morals, brought under the notice of the House of Lords, a pamphlet of a grossly indecent nature, called, "An Essay on Woman," and printed by Wilkes, in his own house, with the name of Bishop Warburton upon the title-page, as the author. An offence so worthy of universal reprobation, would have drawn down upon its perpetrator the universal condemnation of society, had not the ministry, in a spirit of blundering malignity, converted it into a source of triumph to their opponent. In the first instance, they had recourse to the most unworthy

artifices to procure a copy of the book; and it was manifest, that admitting the real authorship to be fully proved, the matter was one purely for the consideration of the courts of law — that it was right to institute a prosecution, no one sought to deny — that the privileges of the peace had been violated by the unwarrantable use of the name of one of their body, was equally true — but the mode of proceeding which seemed to exhibit a desire on the part of the men in power to abolish, as much as possible, the authority of the competent tribunals, by substituting for legal formularies the arbitrary decisions of a factious assembly, naturally caused great alarm in the minds of the public; and the opposition which the motion of the Earl of Sandwich met with from a small section of the peers, was warmly seconded outside the walls of the two Houses. It is needless to add, that the motion, which was, that an address might be presented to the King, praying him to institute a prosecution against Mr. Wilkes, was carried by a large majority.

In February, 1764, a motion was made in the House of Commons by Sir William Meredith, "that a general warrant for apprehending and seizing the authors, printers, and publishers of a seditious libel, is not warranted by law." The ministers found themselves extremely embarrassed by the plausibility and popularity of this motion; they urged, in reply, that it was not consistent with the dignity of the House to pass a resolution respecting a point of law, which resolution, though it should be carried, would not, therefore, be law. And if the courts of law should, in the causes actually depending, be influenced by this restriction, and the House of Lords, in their judicial capacity, should decree the legality of general warrants, the consequences would be very disagreeable. They acknowledged that the power in question, though sanctioned by usage, was very liable to abuse, but they maintained the remedy should be provided by an Act of Parliament, passed upon cool deliberation, distinguishing cases, and giving large discretionary powers to the Secretary of State, to meet the exigencies of the Government. But the opposition insisted that the practice in question was an

abuse, and they would never consent to any act for regulating that abuse. The debate being adjourned to the 17th, certain modifications to the original proposition were offered by the ministry, calculated to lessen the odium attending the practice, specifying the usage of office, and the tacit assent and approbation of the highest legal jurisdiction. This was rejected: and so strong had the public opinion been expressed upon the subject, that they did not dare to incur the odium of meeting the motion with a direct negative, but fell back upon a middle course, that of adjourning the question for four months. Mr. Pitt again stood forward to contend for the total abolition of the system. It was no justification, he said, that general warrants could plead the authority of precedent; two, he admitted, had been signed by himself, but they were not against libels; they were issued in a time of war and public danger against persons believed to be in the interests of the enemy. Sensible of the irregularity of the act, but prefering the public safety to every personal consideration, he ran the risk, as he would of his head, relying upon the exigencies of the times and the necessity of the measure for his vindication. In the present case no such necessity existed; the charge was writing and publishing a libel. What was there in this crime so heinous and terrible as to require the use of this formidable engine, which, like an inundation, bore down all the barriers of the public safety? It was plainly the indulgence of a violent resentment, pointed against a particular person. Surely Parliament could not see the extent of the surrender they had made. A vote had been passed, by which the personal freedom of every man in the kingdom was now at the mercy of His Majesty's Attorney-General. Rising then into tones of the most sublime eloquence, Mr. Pitt pointed out how the constitution watched over the safety of the meanest individual. "It is a maxim of our law, he said, that every Englishman's house is his castle. Not that it is surrounded with walls and battlements—it may be a straw built shed. Every wind of heaven may whistle through it,—but the King cannot—the King dare not enter it." All the eloquence of the great orator was, however,

ineffectual for the time; it was reserved for another administration to declare that general warrants were illegal, and that the ordinary forms of law were sufficient to meet all the exigencies of Government. The praise of having destroyed this formidable engine of oppression is, however, justly due to Wilkes.

Whilst the ministry were celebrating their dubious triumph, Wilkes was engaged in a tour upon the continent, whence his fame had preceded him; and the easy audacity which formed, as it were, the staple of his character, enabled him to figure with distinction at the court of France, at that time the most despotic, perhaps, in existence. But the vices of a demagogue are always purely national, and the favourites of the *Grand Monarque* saw, in the reformer of all irresponsible authority, only the enemy of the English ministry. It was, therefore, quite in keeping with the ordinary character of things, that Madam Pornapadeur observed, you Englishmen are fine fellows; "how far may a man go in abuse of the royal family amongst you?" "I do not quite know," was the answer of Wilkes, "but I am trying."

The correspondence of Diderot, and the approbation of Voltaire, were advantages not to be despised by one who was greedily covetous of notoriety; but the exiled champion of liberty found that the most finely-turned compliments could not atone for the want of cash. Time rolled on, and found the people ungrateful, and the ministry still unrelenting. The sentence of outlawry was an obstacle which must be removed before any steps could be taken in the improvement of his prospects at home; and as an earnest of his desire to atone for past transgressions, he addressed a letter of submission to the King, from Paris, having previously made overtures of peace to the existing administration. The like fate attended each attempt at negotiation. With unpardonable ignorance of their real interests, the government disdained to listen to his appeal, when by a single act they might have silenced him for ever; and now reduced to desperation, the daring spirit of the man determined to brave all hazards in the prosecution of its pur-

pose. The general election of 1770 occurred, and to the astonishment of ministers, the broken outlaw made his appearance in the metropolis, a candidate for the representation of the city. He had nothing to depend upon but the sympathy of the people; but the result proved that his confidence in the extent of that power was not exaggerated. Six others competed with him for the honour, and the close of the contest found him in a very respectable minority of votes. This partial discouragement served only to raise his own hopes, and kindle still higher the popular fervour. The nomination for the county of Middlesex took place a few days later, and Wilkes again declared himself a candidate for the suffrages of the electors. The feeling in his favour now amounted almost to a species of national insanity. On both sides the contest was looked upon as a trial of strength between the court and the people; and despite the utmost exertions of the former, his election was carried by a vast majority. His return was celebrated with the wildest demonstrations of joy. Perhaps the true secret of his wonderful success is to be found in the winning address of his conversation which seems to have been superior to that of any man of his time. No proof more convincing of the extent of his powers can be adduced, than the testimony afforded by Boswell, the celebrated biographer of Dr. Johnson, who, having met Wilkes in society, was eagerly anxious for his introduction to the great advocate of ministerial policy. The account furnished by Boswell of the first interview between men so strangely opposite in their nature and modes of thought, discloses much of the inner life of these singular men. Boswell has exercised much diplomatic skill in arranging the meeting without the knowledge of Johnson, and is somewhat dubious of the result.

When we entered Mr. Dilly's drawing-room, he found himself in the midst of a company he did not know. I kept myself snug and silent, watching how he would conduct himself. I observed him whispering to Mr. Dilly, "Who is that gentleman, Sir?" "Mr. Arthur Lee." Mr. Johnson: "Tut, tut, tut," (under his breath), which was one of his habitual mutterings.

Mr. Arthur Lee could not but be very obnoxious to Johnson, for he was not only a *patriot*, but an *American*. He was afterwards minister from the United States at the Court of Madrid. "And who is the gentleman in lace?" "Mr. Wilkes, Sir." This information confounded him still more; he had some difficulty to restrain himself; and taking up a book, sat down upon a window-seat, and read, or at least, kept his eye upon it intently for some time, till he composed himself. His feelings, I dare say, were awkward enough. But he no doubt recollected his having rated me, for supposing that he could be at all disconcerted by any company, and he therefore set himself to behave quite as an easy man of the world, who could adapt himself at once to the disposition and manners of those whom he might chance to meet.

The cheering sound of "Dinner is upon the table," dissolved his reverie, and we *all* sat down without any symptom of ill humour. There were present, beside Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Arthur Lee, who was an old companion of mine, when he studied physic, at Edinburgh, Mr. (now Sir John) Miller, Dr. Lettsom, and Mr. Slater the druggist. Mr. Wilkes placed himself next to Dr. Johnson, and behaved to him with so much attention and politeness, that he gained upon him insensibly. No man ate more heartily than Johnson, or loved better what was nice and delicate. Mr. Wilkes was very assiduous in helping him to some fine veal. "Pray give me leave, Sir;—It is better here,—a little of the brown,—some fat, Sir,—a little of the stuffing,—some gravy,—let me have the pleasure of giving you some butter,—allow me to recommend a squeeze of this orange—or the lemon, perhaps, may have more zest." "Sir, Sir, I am obliged to you, Sir;" cried Johnson, bowing, and turning his head to him with a look for some time of "surly virtue," but, in a short while, of complacenc.

A modern writer commenting upon Walpole's memoirs of the reign of George III, draws a picture of the ministry existing at that period, in colours which give us no favourable notion of the morality of their characters as individuals, or the

value of their combined talents as statesmen. All the blunders of that most disastrous struggle, the American war, may directly be traced to the conduct of the oligarchy. Too much accustomed to regard government as a natural appendage to their birth, they utterly forgot the true element of national power—the force of public opinion. Inflated with a sense of their personal superiority, they looked with easy indifference, or studied contempt, on every thing that was said or done by men whose genealogy was not registered in the red book. Of America—a nation of Englishmen and its proceedings, they talked as a Russian lord might talk of his serfs. Some of them thought that a stamp act might frighten the sturdy freeholders of the western world into submission! Others prescribed a regimen of writs and constables, evidently regarding the American farmers as they regarded the poachers and paupers on their own demesnes. All this arose from stupendous ignornace; but it was ignorance engendered by pride, and the exclusiveness of rank, and by the arrogance of caste; so excessive was this exclusiveness, that Burke, though the most extraordinary man of his time, and one of the most memorable of any time, could never obtain a seat in the cabinet, where such triflers as Newcastle, such shallow intriguers as the Bedfords, such figures of patrician pedantry as Buckingham, and such notorious characters as the Sandwiches, played with power like children with the cups and balls of their nursery. Lord North, with all his wit, his industry, and his eloquence, owed his admission into the cabinet to his being the son of the Earl of Guildford. Charles Fox, though formed by nature from his first entrance into public life, for the highest eminence of the senate, would never have been received into the government *class*, but for his casual connexion with the house of Richmond: thus they knew nothing of the real powers of the infinite multitude, which, however below the peerage, forms the country. They thought that a few proclamations from Downing Street could extinguish the resistance of millions three thousand miles off, with muskets in their hands, inflamed by a sense of wrong, and insensible to the gatherings of a

parliamentary coterie, and utterly unmindful of the powers of a minister.

This haughty exclusiveness equally accounts for the contests with Wilkes. They felt themselves affronted much more than resisted. They were much more stung by the defiance of a private individual to themselves, than urged to collision by any sense of danger to the monarchy. No man out of Bedlam could conceive that Wilkes had either the power or the intention to subvert the state. But Mr. Wilkes, an obscure man, whose name was not known to the calendar of the government fabricators, had actually dared to call their power into question; had defied them in the courts of law; had rebuked them in the senate; had shaken their influence in the elections; and had, in fact, compelled them to know what they were so reluctant to learn, that they were but human beings after all. The acquisition of this knowledge cost them half a dozen years of convulsion, the most ruinous to themselves, and the most hazardous to the constitution. Wilkes' profligacy had, perhaps, saved the constitution from a shock which might have changed the whole system of the empire. If he had not been sunk by his personal character, at the first moment when the populace grew cool, he might have availed himself of the temper of the times to commit mischief the most irreparable. If his personal character had been as free from public offence as his spirit was daring, he might have led the people much farther than the government ever had the foresight to contemplate. The conduct of the successive cabinets had covered the king with unpopularity, not the less fierce, that it was partly undeserved. Junius, the ablest political writer that England has ever seen, or probably ever will see, had pilloried every leading man, except Chatham, in the imperishable virulence of his pages. The popular mind was furious with indignation at the conduct of all cabinets, in despair of all improvements in the system, irritated by the rash severity which was attended with the equally rash pusillanimity of ministers, and beginning to regard government less as a protection than as an encroachment on the natural privileges of a nation of free men.

The most singular carelessness was exhibited by the government on the eve of the Middlesex election; a carelessness obviously arising from the contempt which the higher ranks of the nobility in those days were weak enough to feel for the opinions of those below them. On the very verge of an election, within five miles of London, and which must bring to a point all the exasperation of years, Camden, the chancellor, went down to Bath, and the Duke of Grafton, the prime minister, who was a great horse-racer, drove off to Newmarket. Lord Mansfield, at once resentful, timorous, and subtle, the three worst qualities of the heart, the nerves, and the understanding, pretended that it was the office of the chancellor to bring the outlaw (Wilkes) to justice, and did nothing. The consequence was, that the multitude were left masters of the field.

On the morning of the election, while the irresolution of the court, and the negligence of the prime minister, caused a neglect of all precautions, the populace took possession of all the turnpikes and avenues leading to the hustings, by break of day; and would suffer no man to pass who did not wear in his hat a blue cockade, with "Wilkes and No. 45," on a written paper. Riots took place in the streets, and the carriage of Sir William Procter, the opposing candidate, was demolished. The first day's poll for Wilkes was 1200; for Procter, 700; for Cooke, 300. It must be remembered, that in these times the elections were capable of being prolonged from week to week, and that the first day was regarded as little more than a formality. At night the West-end was in an uproar. It was not safe to pass through Piccadilly. Every house was compelled to illuminated the windows; all which did not exhibit lights were broken. The coach glasses of such as did not huzza for "Wilkes and liberty," were broken, and the panels of the carriage were scratched with 45. Lord Weymouth, Secretary of State, wrote to Justice Fielding for constables. Fielding answered, that they were all gone to Brentford. At this the guards were drawn out. The mob then attacked Lord Bute's house, and Lord Egmont's; but without being able to force an entrance. They compelled the

Duke of Northumberland to give them liquor to drink Wilkes' health. Ladies of rank were taken from their sedan-chairs, and ordered to join the popular cry. The Lord Mayor was an anti-Wilkite. The mob attacked the mansion-house, and broke the windows. He ordered out the train bands ; they had no effect. Six thousand weavers had risen under the Wilkite banner, and defied all resistance. Even some of the regimental drummers beat their drums for Wilkes. His force at the election was evidently to be resisted no longer. The ministerial candidate was beaten. Wilkes threw in his remaining votes for Cooke, and they came in together. The election was over on the second day, but the mob paraded the metropolis at night, insisting on a general illumination. The Duchess of Hamilton was determined not to comply. The result was, that the mob grew outrageous; broke down the outward gates with iron crows ; tore up the pavement of the street; and battered the doors and windows for three hours ; fortunately, without being able to get in.

Count De Solliar, the Austrian ambassador, one of the most stately and ceremonious of men, was taken out of his coach by the laughing mob, who chalked 45 on the side of his hat. He made a formal and bitter complaint upon the subject ; but the ministers were unable to give him any redress for the insult.

Scarcely had the shouts, which hailed his victory at the hustings died away, than he was compelled to make his appearance in the court of King's Bench, to the jurisdiction of which he had voluntarily submitted, and where the case was fully argued in the presence of an excited multitude.

Bitter, indeed, must have been the hatred of the ministry, when the under Secretary of State was heard to declare, that if the king should grant Wilkes his pardon, Lord Weymouth would refuse to sign it. But an absolute surrender of their right to exalt him into a popular deity, would have been, for Wilkes, the most unfortunate of all results. Their folly was his salvation : it was necessary that they should become contemptible before he could hope to be made truly great. It was not really necessary that the country should be preserved,

but it had become to him a matter of most pressing necessity to pursue the means of existence. And the government took all imaginable powers to secure the accomplishment of his wishes. His outlawry was reversed; and a fine of £1000 inflicted, together with a sentence of twenty-two months' imprisonment in the King's Bench prison. This severity inflamed still more the passions of the people. They displayed, in the most emphatic manner, their hatred of the ministry, by the substantial marks of approbation which they bestowed upon the victim-conqueror! All ranks vied in expressions of attachment. Upwards of £20,000 were subscribed to form a fund for the composition of his debt and his future maintenance. Tradesmen offered gifts of their choicest ware, and ladies contributed their ornaments to deck the living shrine of liberty. To quote the language of a contemporary writer, "Until the time of his first election for Middlesex, in March, 1768, through the whole of the year 1769, and even far into 1772 (a long reign for a people's favourite), he was the sole unrivalled political idol of the people, who lavished upon him all in their power to bestow, as if willing to prove, that in England it *was* possible for an individual to be great and important. Through them alone a subscription was opened for the payment of his debts, and £20,000 was said to have been raised for the purpose, and for the discharging his fine. The Society for the support of the 'Bill of Rights,' presented him with £300. Gifts of plate, of wine, of household goods, were daily heaped upon him. An unknown patriot conveyed to him, in a handsomely embroidered purse, five hundred guineas. A honest chandler enriched him with a box, containing, of candles, the magic number of dozens (45). High and low contended with each other who should most serve and celebrate him. Devices and emblems of all descriptions ornamented the trinkets conveyed to his prison; the most usual was the cap of liberty, placed over his crest: upon others was a bird with expanded wings, hovering over a cage beneath: a motto — 'I love liberty.' Every wall bore his name, and every window his portrait. In china, in bronze, or

in marble, he stood upon the chimney-pieces of half the houses in the metropolis; he swung upon the sign-post of every village, of every great road throughout the country. He was accustomed himself to tell, with much glee, of a monarchical old lady, behind whom he accidentally walked, looking up. She murmured within his hearing in much spleen, 'He swings everywhere, but where he ought.' He passed her, and turned gracefully round; but the voice of disapprobation was of one in two thousands. The king was known to be averse to him; a feeling so well understood at court, that the Prince of Wales, then a mere child, having been corrected for some fault, put his head into the royal apartment, and shouted out, as the most effectual way of annoying his parent—'Wilkes and 45 for ever!'"

But there was not wanting those who felt how much the authority, both of the crown and ministry, was weakened by the prosecution of Wilkes; and a negotiation was therefore opened with him, the government offering a free pardon on the condition of his abstaining from attendance in his place as member for Middlesex, and thereby avoiding the necessity for their defence of the administration. This he declined to promise, and all hopes of an accommodation were ended. The multitude assembled round the King's Bench Prison on the day that parliament was opened, expecting to see him come forth and take his seat in the house. The magistrates wanted no incitement to do their duty; the military were sent for, and the mob not dispersing on the instant, they fired, killed one man, who, it is said, took no part in the uproar, and wounded several others. Here was a new source of public hatred. Lord Weymouth, the Secretary of State, addressed a letter to the magistrates, thanking them for their conduct on the occasion; and the Secretary at War wrote a similar epistle, thanking, in the name of the king, the soldiers for the use which they made of their weapons. These letters were transmitted by Wilkes to the newspapers, with comments, in which he termed the dispersion of the crowd a massacre. The House of Commons, true to its general character, inquired into the transac-

tion; and having ascertained, from the avowal of Wilkes, that he was the author of the remarks, they voted them libellous, and expelled him from his seat in the house. It was now thought that an effectual blow had been dealt him; but the mistake was soon made palpable. He was again put in nomination, and again chosen, without opposition; and, with equal pertinacity, a second time expelled. The contest was now between parliament and the country; and neither were inclined to shrink from pushing it to the utmost. Wilkes came to the poll again; and, although a ministerialist offered himself, not a soul was found willing to put him in nomination. Again the election was declared void: and a Colonel Luttrell was persuaded to offer himself as a candidate, with the express understanding, on the part of the ministry, that he should be the sitting member, even though he polled only a dozen votes. The greatest exertions were made by the government to secure the return of their candidate; but the fourth battle terminated in the final triumph of Wilkes, by 1143 to 296 votes, which were polled for his opponent. True to the pledge of their leader, the house declared Wilkes incapable of being re-elected, and seated Mr. Luttrell as the duly chosen representative of the county.

To detail the events which arose out of this question, would be to relate the whole political history of the period, for the conduct of the ministry upon the Middlesex election was the theme of constant and effective attack by the opposition. The former, however, held their ground, and, during the continuance of the parliament, Wilkes was not idle. Another victory less signal, but more important, was reserved for him. The necessity for reporting the debates in parliaments had become a national one; since the chief business of the empire was transacted in the house of commons: but no recognition of the principle had followed the tacit acknowledgment of the right of the people to be acquainted with the mode in which their representatives had discharged the duties entrusted to them. On the contrary, every obstacle was thrown in the way of those who

undertook to give the public intelligence, in a systematic manner, of the result of parliamentary meetings; and hence, although the anxiety of the leading politicians to have their conduct placed before the public in the truest or most favourable light, frequently involved them in the most startling contradictions: the debates of either assembly were only reported by stealth. Fictitious names were usually given to the various speakers, or, at best, their initials were prefixed to their supposed speeches. Imperfect notes only were furnished, except on rare occasions, or when the orator chose to send a copy of his speech to the printer; and to all practical purposes the country was ignorant of nearly all, except the results of the voting. The finest specimen of what is termed the parliamentary eloquence of the fifteenth century owes in reality but little to the skill of the reporter, the speeches being either made up for the market by struggling authors, such as the youthful Johnson, or temporarily preserved from oblivion by the speakers themselves. This state of things was felt to be an evil which had grown too great for endurance; but, with their usual want of foresight, the majority of the house determined to increase it; and, accordingly, a messenger was sent with a warrant from the speakers into the city to arrest a printer who had dared to publish the debates in a form more than usually copious. The printer, however, refused to obey the authority of the messenger, and sent for a constable who carried them both before the Lord Mayor, Crosby, who, with Alderman Oliver, happened with Wilkes to be sitting at the time at Guildhall. It needed no argument on the part of the persecuted printer, to induce Wilkes to declare the arrest illegal; and for once he found a colleague to his mind. The prisoner was dismissed, and the messenger of the house threatened with a committal to gaol, unless he found bail to answer the charge of having taken a citizen in custody, without lawful authority. It may readily be supposed, that the Commons received intelligence of this open contempt of their supposed privileges with stern indignation. The Lord Mayor and Alderman Oliver were summoned to the bar of the House, and,

refusing to make any submission, were sent to the Tower, where they remained to the end of the session.* Wilkes, too, was ordered to attend, but he defied their power, and refused to enter the House, except in his capacity of member for Middlesex. This was a fatal blow to the dignity of the parliament. The wounds recently inflicted, upon the point of irresponsible power, had not healed up; and, in this new contest, he would again have the people on his side. Besides, this time the quarrel was not his own; it had been forced on him in the discharge of his duty, as a magistrate, and, in such a contest, it was easy to foretell who would be the victor. Weighing all these considerations, the House wisely determined, that of the two evils, it would be better to incur the risk of being contemptible, than to run the danger of being proved impotent.

* Thomas Allen, in his "History of London," states, "The conduct of these magistrates, on this occasion, was so highly approved by the citizens, that a vote of thanks to them was passed in the Court of Common Council, and a committee was appointed to assist them in their defence; and, after their committal, they were brought before every court of judicature at Westminster, by Habeas Corpus, at the city expense, in order to procure their enlargement; but the courts refused to interfere with the privileges of the House of Commons; and they were remanded to the Tower.

At length, the day arrived, when, by the prorogation of parliament, the power that detained them expired, and their liberation was the consequence. Some days previous to it, the Court of Common Council had resolved to attend their enlargement, accompanied by the city officers. Accordingly, they assembled at Guildhall, and proceeded to the Tower in fifty-three carriages; the procession being augmented by the Artillery Company, who attended in their uniform. When the Lord Mayor and Mr. Oliver were brought to the Tower-gate, they were saluted by twenty one pieces of cannon belonging to the Artillery Company, and from thence to the Mansion-house, received the loudest acclamations of an innumerable concourse of spectators.

A common-hall was held, as usual, on Midsummer-day, for the election of city officers for the year ensuing; when another motion was made and carried, "That the Livery of London do desire the Common Council to present a silver cup to the right honourable the Lord Mayor, of the value of two hundred pounds, with the city arms engraved thereon; and to the aldermen Wilkes and Oliver, one each, of the value of one hundred pounds, as marks of their gratitude for their upright conduct in the affairs of the printers, and for supporting the city charters."

It was therefore resolved, that Alderman Wilkes should be ordered to attend at the bar on the 8th of April, 1771, and that the House should adjourn until the *day following*. Thus, an expedient, which only involved the loss of public respect, avoided the consequences of an unpopular struggle.

In the beginning of the year 1776, Sir Stephen Theodore Jansen resigned his situation as chamberlain of the city; the vacant office was strongly contested between Alderman Benjamin Hopkins and Wilkes; but the election was determined in favour of the former: after whose decease, in 1779, Mr. Wilkes was elected without opposition, and held the office till the time of his death.

SIR WILLIAM FITZWILLIAM.

(ALDERMAN.)

If ever a kind and true-hearted man existed on the face of this "mundane sphere," it was certainly Sir William Fitzwilliam, who, in the year 1510, was alderman of Bread-street ward. There are few incidents of his life furnished to us by history; but these incidents, trivial as they are, afford us a better insight into the real character of the man, than if folio volumes had been written of the splendours of his public life. It has been well said, that the small vestiges which remain at the present moment to denote the domestic life of Egypt in her primeval glory, afford a better evidence of the actual amount of civilization she once enjoyed, than all her splendid pyramids and mausoleums; because the former are the evidences of the actual condition of the once living multitudes, and the latter are only the vestiges of a splendid despotism. And, in like manner, looking at the actual condition of an individual mind, as furnished to us by history, we obtain a far deeper insight into the real character of the man by those little incidents which tell of his affections and feelings, than by all the acts, however pompous and elaborate, of his public life. One act alone of Sir Wm. Fitzwilliam's towards his former friend and patron, the celebrated Cardinal Wolsey, will insure him a meed of sympathy and praise from every right-minded individual. In the year 1510, this worthy knight was disfranchised from his civic rights, in consequence of his refusal to serve the

office of sheriff. He does not appear to have repined very much at this deprivation, for he retired to his estate at Milton in Northamptonshire. It was here, when the great cardinal fell under the displeasure of his master, king Henry VIII., that Wolsey in his journey directed his footsteps; and the manner in which he was received by Sir William is thus told in George Cavendish's Life of the Cardinal. Cavendish was "gentleman usher" to Wolsey, and the account which we transcribe in his own words, is the more interesting, because it furnishes us with the circumstances under which Sir William and the Cardinal first became acquainted with each other.

"My lord continuing at Peterborough after this manner, intending to remove from thence, sent me to Sir William Fitzwilliam, a knight, which dwelt within three or four miles of Peterborough, to provide him there a lodging until Monday next following, on his journey northward. And being with him, to whom I declared my lord's request, and he being thereof very glad, rejoiced not a little that it would please my lord to visit his house in his way, saying, that he should be most heartiliest welcome of any man alive, the king's majesty excepted; and that he should not need to discharge the carriage of any of his staff for his own use during the time of his being there; but have all things furnished ready against his coming to occupy, his own bed excepted. Thus, upon my report made to my lord at my return, he rejoiced of my message, commanding me therein to give warning to all his officers and servants to prepare themselves to remove from Peterborough upon Thursday next. Then every man made all things in such readiness as was convenient, paying in the town for all things as they had taken of any person for their own use, for which cause my lord caused a proclamation to be made in the town, 'That if any person or persons in the town or country, were offended or grieved against any of my lord's servants, that they should resort to my lord's officers, of whom they should have redress, and truly answered as the case justly required.' So that, all things being furnished, my lord took his journey from Peter-

borough, upon the Thursday in Easter week, to Master Fitzwilliam's, where he was joyously received, and had right worthy and honourable entertainment at the only charge and expense of the said Master Fitzwilliam's, all [the] time of his being there.*

"The occasion that moved Master Fitzwilliam thus to rejoice of my lord's being in his house was, that he sometime being a merchant of London and sheriff there, fell in debate with the city of London upon a grudge between the aldermen of the bench and him, upon a new corporation that he would erect of a new mystery, called, Merchant Taylor's, contrary to the opinion of divers of the bench of aldermen of the city, which caused him to give and surrender his cloak, and departed from London, and inhabited within the country: and against the malice of all the said aldermen and other rulers in the commonweal of the city, my lord defended him, and retained him in his service, whom he made first his treasurer of his house, and then after his high chamberlain; and, in conclusion, for his wisdom, gravity, port, and eloquence, being a gentleman of a comely stature, made him one of the king's counsel; and [he] so continued all his life afterward. Therefore, in consideration of all these gratitudes received at my lord's hands, as well in his trouble as in his preferment, was most gladest like a faithful friend of good remembrance to requite him with the semblable gratuity and right joys, that he had any occasion to minister some pleasure, such as then lay in his power to do.

"Thus my lord continued there until the Monday next, where lacked no good cheer of costly viands, both of wine and other goodly entertainment; so that upon the said Monday my Lord departed from thence unto Stamford, where he lay all that night."

* In Mr. Ellis's very interesting collection of Historical Letters, vol. i. p. 176, there is an extract of a letter from Sir William Fitzwilliam, then on a mission in France, relating a conversation he had with the French king upon his hearing the Duke of Buckingham was in the Tower, with the Cardinal's answer.

"Bluff and bloated Hal," with characteristic inhumanity, summoned Sir Wm. Fitzwilliam before him for this act of friendship and humanity, and demanded, "How he durst entertain so great an enemy of the state?" His answer was at once bold, and full of feeling: he said, "That he had not contemptuously or wilfully done it, but only because he (the Cardinal) had been his master, and partly the means of his greatest fortunes." It is reported, that the king was so pleased with this honest and feeling rejoinder, that he immediately knighted Wm. Fitzwilliam, and afterwards made him a privy counsellor, adding, "that he himself had too few such servants." There is some doubt, however, as to the truth of this latter part of the story, as we find Cavendish addressing him by the title of "knight," when the circumstance transpired which gave rise to the interview with the king. It is certain, however, that he continued in high favour with the monarch; for, at his death, in 1542, we find that he held the offices of Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; and was a Knight of the Order of the Garter. A few of his charities and bequests are mentioned, and they tend still further to illustrate the feeling character of his mind:

He bequeathed £100 for the marriage portions of poor maidens.

He cancelled all the debts due to him, and forgave his debtors, writing over their names, *Amore Dei remitto*—for the love of God I remit.

He gave to the Universities, £40; to mend certain highways and bridges in Essex, £100; and to the poor within four miles of his manor of Guildford, £100.

To the Merchant Taylors' (his own) Company, he bequeathed his best standing cup as a friendly remembrance of him for ever.

To King Henry VIII. his great ship, with all her tackles, &c., and all his Collar of the Garter, with his best "George," beset with diamonds; and to Sir Thomas Wrotherly, Chief Secretary of State, the best of his gilt cups.

To Mabel, the daughter of Sir Anthony Brown, his brother, for her advancement in marriage, the sum of £100 per annum.

He also desired that his body might be buried in the church of Midhurst, Sussex, if he died within one hundred miles of it; and wished his executors to build a new chapel, and a tomb therein for himself, and Mabel his wife.

Such are the few traits that history has left us of this amiable man; and they lead us to regret that we do not know more of one whose virtues shone conspicuously amidst surrounding faithlessness and insincerity.

THOS. ADAMS, JOHN LANGHAM AND JAMES BANCE.

(ALDERMEN.)

From the period when Sir William Walworth subdued the popular leader, down to the time when all loyal hearts beat high with enthusiasm at the advent of Elizabeth to the throne of these realms, the constant policy maintained by the city had been that of blind and unflinching obedience to the crown. Whichever dynasty came uppermost in the great national "toss up," whether York was victor over Plantagenet, or Plantagenet triumphed over York, mattered not, the civil authorities were ever faithful to "the powers that *were*." Their sole duty seemed to be that of obedience, and the exercise of homage and adulation their only aim. The rebel of to-day might become the monarch of to-morrow, and the royal forces might be scattered to the winds of heaven; but the city was still steadfast in its obedience, not to the man, but to the crown—to the throne, and not to him that sat thereon. It would demand more space than can be allotted to such a question, in the present work, to investigate the causes of this blind obedience, or to analyse the motives that led to it; and it would involve us in a still more lengthened dissertation, were we to pronounce an opinion upon the honesty or dishonesty, the propriety or impropriety, of such a course. It is sufficient, at present to observe, that the crown, or rather its ministers, abused this obsequious loyalty in every

possible way ; and, at no period, perhaps, to a greater extent, than in the reign of Elizabeth. Year after year, did the ministers renew their demands upon the civic exchequer, and each fresh act of compliance seemed only to whet their appetites for another, and yet another demand. Had the city been affected with the most fearful plethora of money, the art of venesection could not have been plied more vigorously than it was by these state physicians. They seemed to regard the city as a large storehouse, to which, in any emergency, they might apply for monetary food. The good-natured vanity of the citizens fed this spirit to an enormous extent. Seldom did the monarch visit the city, but he or she departed like a well-entertained beggar, with a wallet laden with something more precious than "broken meat." Not an ambassador set his foot within its precincts, who did not depart, if not a wiser, at least, a richer man ; and state avarice being thus crammed with abundance of good things, like a well-fed dog, knew its own home, and in every necessity ran at once to the city. Not only were enormous loans demanded of them, but they were compelled to furnish vast armies out of the civic purse ; to man fleets, provide seamen and victual them, and to maintain these expensive armaments for a considerable space of time. These exorbitant demands increased with the readiness of the city to comply with them, until at length they became intolerable. Other acts of insolent demand followed, and the loyalty or temerity of the citizens yielded a ready compliance.

But men had now fallen upon more spirit-stirring times ; and the first man who had the temerity to oppose this rapacity, was Sir John Spenser ; and, as this circumstance has been omitted in the life of that eminent man, we allude to it in the present article, as being the first dawning of that spirit of independence which was afterwards exhibited in a variety of other forms. Amongst other demands made by the officers of the crown, during Sir John Spenser's mayoralty, was one by Sir John Hawkins, one of the Queen's admirals, for the use of the Bridge-house, which was "then the common granary of the city," and

which he intended to convert into a store-house and bakery for the use of the navy. This granary appears to have been of immense importance to the city at this period; and upon this demand being made, Sir John Spenser addressed a spirited letter to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, in which he sets forth, that the several companies of the city had been required to make provision, and "furnish themselves with a supply of wheat and rye," and that these arrangements were not in such a forward state as they ought to have been; that the demand of Sir J. Hawkins would, if complied with, have furnished the city with a pretext for neglecting this provision, the more necessary, because, in time of dearth, the citizens were only furnished with their supplies from foreign parts; and he concludes by "reminding the crown officers, that they had already ample room for their provision at Tower Hill, Whitehall, and Westminster: and also, if they would not serve, her Majesty had in her hands Winchester-house, wherein great quantities might be laid." This refusal of Sir John to surrender the public granaries was, as might be supposed, highly offensive to the ministers of his day, accustomed, as they were, to receive an unqualified submission to all their demands; but Sir John stood firm, and braved the tide of ministerial indignation—thus maintaining the rights of the city.

There can be no doubt that this act of firmness, coupled with others exhibited by the same worthy, first awakened in the minds of the citizens feelings of independence; and, accordingly, at the period when the unfortunate Charles lost at once his kingdom and his life, we find the Lord Mayor, and some of the aldermen (though almost throughout the entire civil war they had sided with the Parliament) opposing the will of the legislature at the time when it was all powerful.

Immediately after the execution of Charles I., the parliament passed an act "for the exheredation of the Royal line, the abolition of monarchy in the kingdom, and the setting up of a commonwealth." This act was sent to the city for publication; and Sir Abraham Reinardson, who was then (1649) Lord Mayor,

together with Aldermen Thomas Adams, John Langham, and James Bance, refused to published it. For this offence, Sir Abraham Reinardson was deprived of the honours of his civic office; and together with the aldermen, committed to the Tower. Of the further acts of the Lord Mayor we hear nothing; but we find the three aldermen, on the 8th of April, summoned to appear before the bar of the House of Lords. The stout-hearted citizens at once denied the power of that tribunal to interfere with their liberties, and declared their intention of appealing "to their proper and competent judges," *i. e.*, a jury of their equals. Their letter, and the annexed petition, are so remarkable, both from the style in which they are written and the undaunted spirit which they exhibit, that we are induced to present them, without further comment, to the reader:—

"A Salva Libertate, sent to Colonel Tichburn, lieutenant of the Tower, on Sunday, April 23, by Thomas Adams, John Langham, and James Bance, Aldermen of London, now prisoners in the Tower; being occasioned by the receipt of a paper sent unto them, by the said lieutenant; wherein the said lieutenant was seemingly authorized to carry them before the Lords, on Tuesday, the 25th of April.

"*To our honoured friend,* COLONEL TICHBURN, *Lieutenant of the Tower.*

"Sir,—We received a letter from you, seeming to authorize you to carry our persons before the Lords, to answer to a charge. We are constrained to inform you hereby, that our persons ought not to be hurried to or fro, or disturbed at the pleasure of any man; neither can we yield obedience to the commands of any, which are not legal: And, therefore, in case you intend to disturb us on Tuesday next, we expect to see a legal warrant from some person or court, which have jurisdiction over us, in case of a real or supposed crime: And we must acquaint you that the Lords have no legal power to summon us to answer to any crime whereof we are accused or suspected; and therefore, you must expect to answer for whatsoever injury you offer to

our persons: And know hereby, That we shall not voluntarily go from hence to Westminster, by virtue of the paper received, but shall suffer you to carry us, if you shall send force which we cannot resist.

"Your friends and servants,

"THOMAS ADAMS,

"JOHN LANGHAM,

"JAMES BANCE.

"*From our Chambers, in the Tower of London, April* 23, 1648."

"*To the Right Honourable, the Lords assembled in Parliament; the humble petition of* THOMAS ADAMS, JOHN LANGHAM, *and* JAMES BANCE, *Aldermen of London, &c.*

"Sheweth,

"That, if your petitioners shall submit to your Lordships' jurisdiction over commoners in those criminal cases, or novelisms in law, intitled, 'Articles of Impeachment of High Treason, and other Misdemeanours,' they shall not only be *feloes de se*, but also shall murther the persons, and ruin the estates of all the freeborn people of England: And, that which is more, they shall betray the common law, which is the supreme authority (under God) of the nation, and the inheritance of every freeman's posterity: And that which is worst of all, they shall be instrumental to pull down all the judicatories of the kingdom, and re-edify an arbitrary government, many stories higher than even the Star Chamber, High Commission, or Council Table were: And by the same rule that your Lordships have fined several commoners £500 a man, for not kneeling, or submitting to your Lordships' jurisdiction in criminal cases, for which there is no law; nay, which is absolutely and apparently against the fundamental laws of the land, and the ordinary rule of your own court of judicature; usually referring those causes, which appertain to the common law, to the other courts of justice, especially if the people desire it; so you may fine their fellow-citizens and commoners of England, as many millions, and take

away the lives and estates of all, as well as some, to the perpetual destroying and enslaving the whole kingdom, by the 29th Chapter of the Great Charter, being a statute declaratory of the common law; especially those common laws, wherein your Lordships had your shares in making them; viz. The Petition of Right, 3 Caroli, and the act for abolishing the Star Chamber and regulating the Council Table, in the 17th Caroli, in which many statutes are enumerated: That commoners ought to be tried by their equals, by bill of indictment, or writ original, and by those of their neighbourhood: And all decrees and judgments made contrary thereunto, are declared thereby to be null and void in law, which bars all precedents; and by several declarations and ordinances, your Lordships have declared, That ordinances are no laws, but temporary during the wars; and the case of necessity being taken away, your Lordships have promised the free people of England that they shall be governed according to the known laws of the land, as it appears in the ordinance, dated the 15th of January, 1647: And it is against the law of God, nature, and nations, that any person or persons, should be judge and parties, examiners or accusers, in their own cause, or to be tried otherwise than by a known law: 'For where there is no law, there is no transgression.' It is declared by Sir Edward Coke, That the parliament cannot make a law against the law of nature, which is custom, according to right and necessary reason: That precedents are nothing in comparison of the common and statute laws; these being known maxims in law.

"*A facto ad Jus non valet Argumentum, Gubernandum est Legibus, non Exemplis:* Articles are nothing in law, but mere innovations and prerogatives extra-judicial, especially when ordinary persons are in question. The old maxim in law is, *Non recurrendum est ad extraordinaria quando fieri potest per ordinaria.* And your Lordships are not only sworn, but have imposed several oaths, as the protestation, and solemn league and covenant, upon the free Commoners of England, to defend the fundamental laws of the land; and they are confident your

Lordships will be very tender of the preservation of the Great Charter, in which are wrapped up our lives, liberties, and estates, your noble predecessors being so glorious and famous instruments in assisting this people in purchasing the same.

"Concerning the point of precedent, which is all that can be said for your Lordships, we shall give you the answer :—

"1. It is observable, that all such commoners, which have submitted to your Lordships' jurisdiction, were, in time of the civil wars, *Flagrante Bello*, not by compulsion, but by voluntary petitions of the commons, in a summary way, to the King in person.

"2. One precedent against your Lordships' jurisdiction is of more consequence than a thousand for it : The reason is plain; because all courts of judicature are bottomed upon the law of the land; and it cannot be supposed, that any court can be miscognizant of its own jurisdiction. Your Lordships have confessed in Sir Simon de Benisforde's case, that it is against the law for peers to try commoners ; and your predecessors have promised, upon record, that they will never do like again, though that occasion were superlative, Rot. 2, Rot. Parl. 5, Numb. 45.

"3. The Corporation of Cambridge was accused before the King and Lords, for complying with the rebels of Essex, Kent, and Hertford ; their council pleaded against the jurisdiction of the Lords' House in the point of treason, and the King and Lords allowed the plea.

"4. As there are many precedents, more may be alleged, that commoners have denied your Lordships' jurisdiction ; and that your Lordships have transmitted such causes to the common law, if desired by the free people ; so there can be no precedent to be shown, that commoners, which have refused to be tried by your House, have been over-ruled by them in point of jurisdiction.

"5. There was never any precedent since there were Parliaments in England, that the same Sessions of Parliament hath imprisoned, fined, or any otherwise disseized or destroyed any man for obeying or executing the laws, ordinances, or orders

of the same Parliament. And there are many ordinances in force, which indemnify all those which have acted by the authority of Parliament, viz., May 26, 1642, P. Book, Decl. P. 281, June 14, 1642, P. 377. The premises considered,

"Your petitioners, being free commoners of England, according to the known laws of the land (de Jure), claim their birthright, which is, to be tried by God and their country, in his Majesty's court of justice, by the sworn judges of the law, and a jury of their equals of their own neighbourhood, where the pretended fact was done, the courts of justice being open.

"And your Petitioners shall pray."

GREGORY DE ROCKESBY,

(MAYOR.)

The claim of Gregory de Rockesby to rank amongst the more celebrated men that have presided over the city of London, rests upon a single incident; but, as that event was an important one, and strongly exhibits the real character of the man, we see no good and sufficient reason why he should be deprived of a niche amongst those men of eminence whom history has handed down to us, as worthy of remembrance. In the year 1284, one Laurence Ducket, a goldsmith, fell into a violent quarrel, common to that rude age, with Ralph Crepin. The réncontre took place in Cheapside, and Ducket having dangerously wounded his adversary, and dreading the vengeance of the law, took "sanctuary" in Bow Church steeple. It is, perhaps, needless to inform the reader, that in these early ages, certain religious edifices were set apart as sanctuaries, whither the criminal fled, and was considered safe from the avenger. The sanctuary, however, proved to be but a poor asylum for Ducket. The friends of Crepin stole into the church in the night, and having seized Ducket, hung him in one of the windows, in such a position, as to make it appear that the act had been one of his own. A coroner's jury was accordingly impannelled, and a verdict of "*felo de se*" having been returned, the corpse was, according to custom, dragged from the church by the feet, and buried in a ditch outside the city walls. The

popular idea, that "murder will out," was strongly exemplified in this case. It happened that a boy was in the church at the time of the murder, who concealed himself during the time the deed was perpetrated; and having given information of the murder, a number of persons were apprehended, of whom sixteen were hung; and a woman who plotted the murder, in accordance with the cruel spirit of the age, was burnt alive; several persons of distinction, who were involved in the transaction, were fined in various sums of money. The body was exhumed and re-interred in a proper manner. The Monarch, Edward I., appears to have thought it proper, in consequence of this and similar acts of violence, to appoint a commission of inquiry: and accordingly, the Lord Treasurer summoned the Mayor, aldermen, and citizens of London, to wait upon him at the Tower, and to give some account in justification of these violent breaches of the peace. Gregory Rockesby was the Mayor at this time, 1285, (having been elected previously as alderman for the ward of Dowgate,) and as he considered this demand of the Lord Treasurer an invasion of the civic privileges, he refused to attend in his official capacity of Mayor; but having deposited his insignia of office in Barking church, and delivered the city seal to Stephen Aswy, alderman of the ward, he repaired to the Tower simply as a private individual. The Lord Treasurer was so deeply annoyed at this slight to his authority, that he committed Rockesby and several of the principal citizens to prison. When a report of these facts was made to the king, he approved of the conduct of his Lord Treasurer; and, to show his displeasure, he discharged the Mayor from his office, deprived the city of its privileges, and vested the government in the hands of a custos, or keeper, in which it remained for some years, the city being for the next twelve years without a mayor. The ostensible reason for thus disgracing Rockesby, was a concocted charge that he had taken bribes from the bakers, to allow them to defraud the public, "by making their penny loaves six or seven ounces too light."

The sudden breaking up of any judicial arrangements must,

however, always be attended with inconvenience, and even danger. And so it proved in this instance. The abolition of the civic officers, who alone knew the secret machinery of crime within the city, and the means of its detection, opened at once the floodgates of violence. Robbers abounded in the streets, who committed many acts of violence, and even murders. As a natural consequence, stringent measures were adopted by the custos, under the sanction of the crown. No stranger was allowed to wear weapons, or to be seen in the streets after the ringing of the cover-feu (curfew) bell, in St. Martin's-le-Grand. Vintners were commanded to close their houses at the ringing of this bell, under penalties, ranging according to the number of offences, from 3*s.* 4*d.* to 20*s.*; fencing-schools were prohibited, under a penalty of forty marks for every offence; all the aldermen were to make a thorough search in their several wards for offenders; and, as it was suspected that many of those atrocities were committed by foreigners, no person who was not free of the city, was allowed to reside therein, and nearly eighty suspected persons were banished the city for life. Such were a few of the stringent laws consequent upon these atrocities—atrocities which may fairly be traced to the sudden extinction of the criminal regulations, and which continued, with more or less violence, till the restoration of the civic privileges, years afterwards.

SIR THOMAS WHITE.

(LORD MAYOR).

Amongst the various civic dignitaries who have, by their munificence in the cause of education, secured themselves an undying reputation, the name of Sir Thomas White deserves honourable mention. He was elected to the mayoralty in the year 1553. Amongst the memorials of his liberal benevolence, Glo'ster Hall and St. John Baptist's College, in the university of Oxford, are not the least remarkable. The circumstances which led to his founding the latter college are singular, and furnish us with an interesting example of the superstitious feeling which, in that age, governed the minds of even well-informed men. An impulse (an infatuation it might almost be called) led him to cherish the wish to establish a college "at a place where two elm trees grew;" and having, no doubt, without much difficulty, discovered such a spot, he there caused that college to be erected, and endowed it in the most liberal manner. Nor did his zeal for learning end here: for schools at Bristol and Reading, and a college at Higham Ferrers, bear witness to the ample benevolence that stirred within him. His efforts to relieve the sufferings of his fellow-men, in a physical point of view, were equally conspicuous: and his application of the charities was founded on that close adherence to prudence, which renders them a model to any of the charitable institutions of our own age. A gift of £2000 to the city of Bristol was laid out in the purchase of lands, and their yearly

rents amounted to £120; of this sum £100 was to be lent for the space of ten years, to four poor young men, being freemen and clothiers belonging to one of the principal cities of England. In the succeeding year, the £100 was, in like manner, divided amongst a similar number of young men belonging to some other city, a regular order of succession being enjoined by the worthy donor. These were only parts of his extensive munificence, which displayed itself in a variety of forms, and always with the same regard to the permanent welfare of its recipients.

The chronicles of this period supply us with some curious examples of the progress of legislation, both as regards the imperial Parliament and that of the common council. An act was passed about this time, restricting the number of taverns within the city and liberty of London, to forty; and those of Westminster to three. At that period, Sir John Barleycorn had not commenced a very vigorous reign—the common beverage appearing to be the various wines of France: and, by the same statute, the price of Gascoigne and French wines was fixed at 8d. the gallon, and those of Rochelle at 4d., a price which compels us to smile at a remark made in later chronicles, that "then there were not the present duties on wine."

Another enactment, only made by the civic legislature, imposed a penalty of £5 and imprisonment, in the event of non-payment, upon all citizens who should employ foreigners in any kind of business, except those of felt-making, carding, spinning, brewing, &c. This measure was called for by the circumstance of a great number of the mechanics of London being in a state of great distress, arising, perhaps, partly from the labour market being overstocked, but more particularly from the superior skill of foreign workmen, who at that period greatly excelled our own artisans in all kinds of mechanical employments. But a far better insight into the character of the citizens of that period is afforded to us in the reception given about this time to Joseph Eapia, an Ambassador Extraordinary from the Czar of Russia to the Court of England. This functionary had the misfortune to be shipwrecked on the coast of Scotland, an

event in which his life was exposed to imminent peril, his domestics and baggage being nearly all lost. The Russia Company, upon being apprized of this catastrophe, obtained letters from the court of St. James to that of Scotland, in order to insure a favourable reception to the ambassador. They also furnished him with money and all other necessaries for his journey to London. When he approached the city, eighty merchants richly apparelled, and on horseback, met him about twelve miles off, and with great pomp conducted him to the house of a merchant at Highgate, where he was presented with a large sum of money in gold, and various other costly gifts. The next morning he entered the city, attended by one hundred and forty Russia merchants, all attired in magnificent costumes, and followed by their servants, in beautiful liveries. Even at this remote period the citizens of London had gained for themselves the appellation of "merchant princes."

And then followed an event that separated the last chain of territorial possession which England had so long held in France. War was declared with that nation, proclamation being duly made in the city by the King at Arms, accompanied by the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs; and the city also advanced to the crown the sum of £20,000, at 12 per cent. interest, for the purpose of carrying on this war. The result of this war was, the loss of Calais, and the effect produced upon the sovereign's mind is attested by her well-known declaration, "that, when she died, Calais would be found engraven on her heart."

SIR JOHN PHILPOT.

(LORD MAYOR.)

It may, perhaps, be truly said, when we refer to the past condition of London as contrasted with the present, that the only thing that remains in it unchanged is its ancient and magnificent river. Time, with its unsparing ploughshare, has rooted up all the physical traces of its splendour, and left the recollection of them only in the pages of history. We look, in vain, for the relics of Baynard Castle, and the Tower Royal; and the thickly-peopled dwellings of London-bridge exist only in imagination. The ancient cavalcades that swept along the streets have passed away; likewise, we no longer behold a kingly retinue sweeping down Cheapside, where knights and barons, clad in impenetrable steel, mingled with the bold burghers of Cripplegate and Walbrook. These memorials have passed away, and it is well they have: the dazzling pomp of semi-barbaric power has melted down into the sober, more useful, and not less magnificent display of wealth, practically exhibited; the towers of feudalism that hovered over the city, have been razed, and on their site have sprung up vast warehouses, docks, and railroad stations—the sure indications of prosperity and peace; and where the ancient bridge once stood, with its line of houses, and closely pent-up channels, causing the water to flow with torrent-like impetuosity between, now another and more stately structure exists, which offers no

impediment to the free passage of the stream, or to that which floateth thereon.

And with these physical changes in our modern Babylon, a change equally remarkable has passed over the manners and spirit of the age; a change so marked, that but few admirers of the good old times would like to exchange their present condition, as citizens, for that of the age of which we write. Broad swords and bucklers, rapiers and pistols, would sit uneasily on your present race of citizens. Whatever gusto our aldermen and common councilmen have to be "the first at a feast," they have no relish whatever to be forward in a fray; and the now harmless excursion to the Red House, or to Twickenham Ait, was then undertaken only for some fierce struggle, when rapier crossed rapier, and heavy drops of human gore fell on the sward beneath. No man exemplified the character of the citizen-knight better than Sir John Philpot, who was as stern a defender of the rights of the city in peace, as he was staunch in times of war.

Towards the close of Edward the Third's reign, the city and the court were not on the best terms with each other. A difference of rather serious character had broken out between Courtney, Bishop of London, and John, Duke of Lancaster. It appears, that the Duke of Lancaster, who was a warm friend and disciple of the celebrated reformer, Wickliffe, together with Lord Piercey, Marshal of England, attended Wickliffe to St. Paul's Church, whither he had been summoned by the Archbishop of Canterbury, by virtue of a bull from the Pope, to answer for his alleged heretical doctrines. The conduct of the Bishop of London, who was present, was that of the haughty tyrannical prelate; and it so incensed Lancaster, that he told him, "he would bring his pride down, and that of the prelates of all England." The Duke, however, finding himself beaten in the warfare by the Bishop, whispered to one who sat near him, "that he would rather drag the Bishop out of the Church by the hair, than be so used by him." These words were overheard by some of the citizens,

and excited their superstitious reverence for the prelate. Thus was generated an evil feeling in the minds of the multitude against the Duke ; and shortly after, one of those commotions so common at that period, broke out, and the mob rushed to the Duke's palace in the Savoy, with the intention of inflicting summary vengeance upon him. The Duke, however, was at dinner in the city, at the house of John de Thres, and a knight having communicated to him the design of the rabble, he immediately repaired by boat to the royal manor at Kensington. The result of this affray was, that the monarch, indignant at the lax discipline which he supposed existed in the city, took occasion from this and other lesser delinquencies, to punish the city, by depriving the Mayor and several of the aldermen of their offices, and appointing others in their stead.

It was about this time that the city began to understand the value of a strong mind like that of John Philpot, who, at this time, appears to have held no civic dignity. Death, that fell destroyer, who lays his icy hand on the "sceptre and crown" as fearlessly as on the "poor crooked scythe and spade," summoned King Edward III. to a narrower house than his palace at Sheen. While he lay on his death bed, the citizens finding the monarch past hope of recovery, appointed a deputation to wait on his grandson, the heir apparent, (afterwards Richard II.) Of this deputation, John Philpot was appointed spokesman, who acquainted the prince, "that in all probability, their good and gracious sovereign, his grandfather, was now expiring, having all the symptoms of death attending him; wherefore, they humbly besought his Royal Highness's favour and protection to their city, 'his chamber ;' assuring him, that they were not only ready to devote their fortunes to his service, but upon occasion, their lives also ; and, expressing their great concern for his remoteness from the city, humbly begged he would be pleased to come and reside amongst them ; and likewise prayed, that he would be graciously pleased to interpose for the better accommodating all differences between the Duke and them.

This appeal seems to have produced the desired effect; for the young king, shortly afterwards, sent the Lord Latimer and others, "to assure the citizens, in his name, of the great respect he bore their city, and of his speedy return, according to their desire, to reside there; and that he had, according to their request, spoken to his uncle, the Duke of Lancaster, in their behalf, who had readily submitted all differences between himself and the citizens to his determination, and he therefore hoped they would do the same on their part, not doubting, but that he should happily accommodate all matters between them and the Duke."

The differences between the city and the young monarch, or rather the more powerful Duke of Lancaster, having been thus adjusted, Richard II. made his *entrée* into the city, in a state of magnificence and pomp, that formed a sad mockery, by way of prelude, to the sufferings of his after life. Mounted upon a splendid charger, and followed by the choicest of his nobles, amongst whom were the Duke of Lancaster, Lord High Steward of the kingdom, Lord Piercey, Earl Marshal of England, Sir Simon Burley, bearing the sword of state, and Sir Nicholas Bond, leading the king's horse, he set out for the city. A numerous train of youthful citizens, about the age of the king (who was then only eleven years old) followed; each division preceded by trumpets, the blasts of which heralded their approach.

At the entrance of the city, the royal cavalcade was received by the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and citizens, with the utmost pomp and magnificence. A stately pageant was erected in Cheapside, in the form of a castle, out of which flowed streams of wine, during the royal progress through the city. Four beautiful young ladies, about the age of his majesty, served up this wine in golden cups to the king and the nobility; they also scattered golden leaves on the head of the youthful monarch, and dispensed "largesse" amongst the crowd, in the shape of florins, "resembling gold." The Duke of Lancaster, as well as the princes of the blood royal, and the

nobility, were assiduous in their attentions to the citizens, and lavish in their assurances of friendship and good-will.

In the following year, 1378, an enterprising Scotch privateer, named John Mercer, emboldened by the defenceless condition of the navy and sea-ports of England, levied his contributions on the English merchant navy to a very large extent.

SIR JOHAN WOODCOCK,

(LORD MAYOR).

Among the Lord Mayors of London who have distinguished themselves by enforcing and maintaining the rights and privileges of the city against the opposition of powerful nobles and haughty ecclesiastics, may be noticed, Sir Johan Woodcock, who was Lord Mayor in the year 1405.

The conservatorship of the Thames had, at a very early period, been vested in the chief city authority. By the thirteenth article of Magna Charta, it was especially provided, "That the city of London, and all other cities, burghs, and towns, and parts of the kingdom, shall enjoy all their free customs by land and by water." It appears that the covetous and encroaching spirit of some of the wealthy landowners had led to the erection of a large number of weirs, or great dams, in the River Thames, fitted with nets for the taking of fish. By this means, the interests of the fishermen of London, and the revenue of the corporation, suffered, besides the obstructions they presented to the free navigation of the river. The complaints made against these wrongs grew louder and louder; and though the timidity of many, who feared offending the wealthy parties, to whom the weirs belonged, impeded their removal, the time was to come when one bold spirit, regardless alike of threats or frowns, should be found to step in between the oppressor and the oppressed, to proclaim that might should not prevail over right, but that even-handed justice should maintain

her sway, and be triumphant. Sir Johan Woodcock, having received information of the extent of these grievances, commanded that all the weirs, from Staines Bridge to the River Medway, should be immediately destroyed, and the nets burned; their existence being contrary to certain clauses of the city charter.

Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, having, it is supposed, a pecuniary interest in the produce of the weirs, used all his influence to prevent their destruction; whether the young fish caught in the nets, were found very acceptable for the diet on fasting days of the conventual gentry of the cathedral, is not recorded; certain it is, the Archbishop was very angry with the Lord Mayor, at removing such a plentiful source of profit. But his anger was useless, his threats were unavailing, his influence a dead letter. Sir Johan was unyielding; the nets were burned, and the weirs destroyed; away went the fish, in a wider stream, to supply, at some future day, the wants of those who were better entitled to take them.

A descendant of Sir Johan Woodcock (the Rev. John Woodcock, M.A.) not a whit less undaunted in spirit than his ancestor, is now pursuing the more peaceful duties of a parish clergyman, as a "fisher of men," in the peaceful village of Littlebourne, in the county of Kent.

ROBERT WAITHMAN,

(LORD MAYOR).

THE too common idea attached to the essentials of fame and its concomitant immortality, rests upon a basis which will bear no glance from the scrutinising eye of truth. It is associated with those heroic actions which the warrior performs upon the arena of human strife, upon "splendid victories," and daring exploits, by field and flood, on the battle plain, and on the broad ocean. And what is all this? A string of fine words to delude the thoughtless; a lie coined by human wickedness to deceive the unwary. The foundation upon which all military glory rests, may be without, like the tinsel of the dress that represents it—a closer scrutiny detects the imposition, and the glitter is found to be the result of corruption, like the many-coloured patches that, passing from some unwholesome factory, track the surface of the pure river. Like the "whitened sepulchres" of the ancients—without they are stately and beautiful, but within "full of corruption and dead men's bones." A beautiful vision is the *mirage* of the desert, as with parched lips and swollen tongue the traveller pushes forward towards the living stream; but the vision fades before his eye, and leaves him a prey to disappointment and regret. And if it were not so, what hope would those have, who, by patient industry and self-denial, have striven to build up for themselves a purer immortality than that cemented with human blood, and based on human suffering. The glitter of the slimy waters may not be there; but there is at least the pure stream that flows beneath it; there may be no visionary rainbow spanning the cataract of human passion; but

there is the still pure river, whose constant flow, however calm and noiseless, accomplishes more for weal or woe than the mad dashing of the angry waters, which boil up for a moment, and then are stilled. Niagara may astound by its grandeur, but the Nile fills all Egypt with fertility.

One cannot help being drawn into reflections of this kind, when contrasting the peaceful tide which runs through the lives of many of the more distinguished men of modern times, with the boisterous turmoil which characterised the lives of their ancestors. It was an act of bravery to smite down a rebel in Smithfield, but it was better to devote a fortune for the comfort of the citizens of London. Philpot may be praised for his daring and adventurous spirit; but the man who fearlessly devotes his life to a moral struggle for the benefit of his fellow-men is entitled to infinitely higher praise.

The name of Robert Waithman is one that the present generation will not readily forget; and it is one on which posterity will, doubtless, pronounce an opinion, and that opinion must be a favourable one. Living in a stirring time, when men's political opinions were for almost the first time in the history of humanity beginning to receive an increasing development, his life was spent in a moral warfare with the hostile feelings of the men around him; and unlike many greater men, who have toiled on behalf of truth in hopeless fields, and never lived to realise one wish of their existence, Robert Waithman had the proud satisfaction of witnessing the ultimate triumph of those principles which he had advocated in early life against such potent opposition. He planted the seed in his own spring-time, and in autumn he saw the first ingathering of that harvest of freedom, which it is to be fervently hoped will only be reaped by the sickle of peace.

His life is a cheering one for those who struggle against adverse circumstances; for, from a very humble origin, and an obscure early life, he rose to the highest civic honours; and this position he obtained, not only without the sacrifice of a single principle, but even by the stern advocacy of principles which were then to a great extent unpopular. The moral of his life

is too obvious to escape notice. It is that it is not necessary, in order to win an honourable place in the ranks of fame, for any man to renounce what he holds to be the truth. It is not the intention of the writer to give a lengthened biography of Mr. Waithman, but merely to furnish a brief outline of his public life.

Robert Waithman was born in the year 1764, at Wrexham, in North Wales, where his parents, who were in very humble circumstances, resided. It was his misfortune to become an orphan when he was only four months old; and from this period he appears to have been taken care of by his uncle. He was placed by that relative at the school of a Mr. Moore. On the death of his uncle, he obtained a situation as assistant in a linendraper's shop, at Reading, in Berkshire, where he remained some years. His perseverance and attention to business must have been very great; for, notwithstanding his necessarily straitened circumstances, we find him established in business before he was thirty years of age. He first entered into business at the southern end of Fleet Market, from whence he removed, some years afterwards, to the corner of New Bridge Street, in which house the business was carried on up to the day of his death. His political career commenced in 1794, about which time, he must have been elected a member of the Court of Common Council. In this year we find him moving, in that court, a series of resolutions, condemnatory of the war in which England was then engaged with the French people, who had in their eagerness to obtain a freer constitution, and to lessen the power of the crown, plunged into those excesses which too frequently characterise mob revolutions.

Urged on by unprincipled demagogues, they committed acts of wrong and robbery, murder and oppression, at which humanity shudders. The first French revolution presents a singular scene in the history of the world. A mass of rulers were gathered together by the populace, divested of those ties of morality and religion which bind society together, and their government proves, what has been well said, "that a nation of infidels is a

nation of devils." However favourable the disorganization of one system may eventually be to the establishment of another, and a better, the disorganization itself may be not only unworthy of credit or glory to those engaged in it, but even vile and infamous. Such was the first French revolution. But this, *en passim.*

At the same time, we find Robert Waithman still far in advance of the spirit of the age, moving resolutions in favour of parliamentary reform—a question then scouted by men in authority, and denounced as revolutionary and atheistical; but now, our notions of right and wrong are being drawn from purer sources, and embraced by statesmen and philosophers; as the advocacy of these principles brought him prominently before the eyes of his fellow-citizens, so did their estimation of his character and his talents increase. In the year 1818, after several unsuccessful appeals to his future constituents, he was elected as one of the members to represent the city of London. The first essay in the House was in a cause which did honour both to his humanity and to the liberal principles he espoused. His maiden speech, which was delivered in the House of Commons on the 25th of January, in the following year, was in favour of a motion for the revision of the criminal code—a code then too penal for a Christian land. In every other measure which he advocated in Parliament, we find him always on the right side. Shortly after this time, the ever memorable trial of Queen Caroline commenced; and the indignation of the people of England was roused to its highest pitch, at the treatment of that unfortunate lady. Into the merits of this question, it is not our intention now to enter; and we only allude to it, for the purpose of stating, that throughout the whole of these painful proceedings, we find him taking the side of the unhappy Queen, with a firmness and zeal which rendered him a still greater favourite with the nation. He was appointed one of the trustees of the subscription, to present Her Majesty with a service of plate. On the death of Sir James Price, he was elected Alderman of the Ward of Farringdon Without; and, in

1823, he was chosen to fill the highest civic office, that of Lord Mayor. His conduct, during the year of mayoralty, and throughout the subsequent course of his life, was such as to secure him the esteem of all his fellow-men. In 1826, he was again elected a member of Parliament for the City of London. His activity in the cause of civil and religious freedom continued to distinguish him, almost up to the period of his death, which occurred on the 6th of February, 1833.

The Court of Common Council, which met on the 8th of the same month, unanimously passed the following resolution, which, as the testimony of his fellow-citizens, who were intimately acquainted with him, is, perhaps, one of the highest tributes which can be paid to the memory of any man. Even his political opponents, on this occasion, expressed their high esteem of his character :—"That the Court deeply deplore the loss they have sustained in the death of the late Robert Waithman, Esquire, who, by his consistent and honourable discharge of his various duties, in the several stations of common councilman, alderman, sheriff, lord mayor and representative of this city, in parliament, has secured to his memory the lasting esteem of this court, and of his fellow-citizens. They also take this opportunity of tendering to the surviving relatives of that eminent individual, their sincere condolence upon the loss of a gentleman, distinguished by those virtues which have characterized his conduct in all the relations of public and private life." An obelisk was shortly afterwards erected to his memory, opposite his house, in Farringdon Street, where he had so long resided, which bears the following inscription :—"Erected to the memory of Robert Waithman, by his friends and fellow-citizens, 1833."

APPENDIX.

A LIST OF THE LORD MAYORS OF LONDON.

Years.	Lord Mayors.
1189,	Henry Fitz-Alwyn.
1190,	Ditto.
1191,	Ditto.
1192,	Ditto.
1193,	Ditto.
1194,	Ditto.
1195,	Ditto.
1196,	Ditto.
1197,	Ditto.
1198,	Ditto.
1199,	Ditto.
1200,	Ditto.
1201,	Ditto.
1202,	Ditto.
1203,	Ditto.
1204,	Ditto.
1205,	Ditto.
1206,	Ditto.
1207,	Ditto.
1208,	Ditto.
1209,	Ditto.
1210,	Ditto.
1211,	Ditto.
1212,	Ditto.
1213,	Roger Fitz-Alwyn.
1214,	Serle Mercer.
1215,	William Hardel.
1216	Jacob Alderman, and Salmon Basing.
1217,	Serle Mercer.
1218,	Ditto.
1219,	Ditto.
1220,	Ditto.
1221,	Serle Mercer.
1222,	Ditto.
1223,	Richard Renger.
1224,	Ditto.
1225,	Ditto.
1226,	Ditto.
1227,	Roger Duke.
1228,	Ditto.
1229,	Ditto.
1230,	Ditto.
1231,	Ditto.
1232,	Andrew Buckerell.
1233,	Ditto.
1234,	Ditto.
1235,	Ditto.
1236,	Ditto.
1237,	Ditto.
1238,	Richard Renger.
1239,	Wyllyam Joynour.
1240,	Gerarde Bate.
1241,	Reginald Bongay.
1242,	Ditto.
1243,	Rauffe Ashway.
1244,	Mychael Tony.
1245,	Johan Gysors.
1246,	Ditto.
1247,	Pyers Aleyne.
1248,	Mychael Tony.
1249,	Roger Fitz-Roger.
1250,	Johan Norman.
1251,	Adam Basing.
1252,	Johan Tholozane.
1253,	Nycholas Batte.

Years.	Lord Mayors.
1254,	Richard Hardell.
1255,	Ditto.
1256,	Ditto.
1257,	Ditto.
1258,	Ditto.
1259,	Johan Gysours.
1260,	William Fitz-Richard.
1261,	Ditto.
1262,	Thomas Fitz-Thomas.
1263,	Ditto.
1264,	Ditto.
1265,	Ditto.
1266,	William Fitz-Richard.
1267,	Alein Souch.
1268,	Ditto.
1269,	Thomas Fitz-Thomas.
1270,	Johan Adryan.
1271,	Ditto.
1272,	Sir Walter Harvey.
1273,	Ditto.
1274,	Henry Waleis.
1275,	Gregory Rokeslie.
1276,	Ditto.
1277,	Ditto.
1278,	Ditto.
1279,	Ditto.
1280,	Ditto.
1281,	Ditto.
1282,	Henry Waleys.
1283,	Ditto.
1284,	Ditto.
1285,	Gregory Rokeslie.
1286,	Rauf Sandwich.
1287,	Johan Breton.
1288,	Rauf Sandwich.
1289,	Ditto.
1290,	Ditto.
1291,	Ditto.
1292,	Ditto.
1293,	Ditto.
1294,	Sir Johan Breton.
1295,	Ditto.
1296,	Ditto.
1297,	Ditto.
1298,	Henry Waleis.
1299,	Elyas Russell.
1300,	Elyas Russell.
1301,	Johan Blount.
1302,	Ditto.
1303,	Ditto.
1304,	Ditto.
1305,	Ditto.
1306,	Ditto.
1307,	Ditto.
1308,	Nycholas Faryngdone.
1309,	Thomas Romayne.
1310,	Richard Roffham.
1311,	Johan Gysours.
1312,	Johan Pounteney.
1313,	Nycholas Faryngdone.
1314,	Johan Gysours.
1315,	Stephen Abyngdone.
1316,	Johan Wentgrave.
1317,	Ditto.
1318,	Ditto.
1319,	Hammond Chyckwell.
1320,	Nycholas Faryngdone.
1321,	Hamond Chyckwell.
1322,	Ditto.
1323,	Nycholas Faryngdone.
1324,	Hammond Chyckwell.
1325,	Ditto.
1326,	Richard Betayne.
1327,	Hammond Chyckwell.
1328,	Johan Grauntham.
1329,	Symon Swanland.
1330,	Johan Pounteney.
1331,	Ditto.
1332,	Johan Preston.
1333,	Johan Pounteney.
1334,	Reynold at Conduyte.
1335,	Ditto.
1336,	Johan Pounteney.
1337,	Henry Darcy.
1338,	Ditto.
1339,	Andrew Awbrey.
1340,	Ditto.
1341,	Johan Oxynforde.
1342,	Symond Frauncess.
1343,	Johan Hammond.
1344,	Ditto.
1345,	Richard Lacere.

Years.	Lord Mayors.
1346,	Geffrey Wychyngham
1347,	Thomas Legge.
1348,	Johan Lewkyn.
1349,	Wyllyam Turke.
1350,	Richard Killingbury.
1351,	Andrew Awbrey.
1352,	Adam Frauncess.
1353,	Ditto.
1354,	Thomas Legge.
1355,	Symond Frauncess.
1356,	Henry Pycard.
1357,	Johan Stody.
1358,	Johan Lewkyn.
1359,	Symond Doffelde.
1360,	Johan Wroth.
1361,	Johan Peche.
1362,	Stephen Caundish.
1363,	Johan Notte.
1364,	Adam Bury.
1365,	Johan Lewkyn.
1366,	Ditto.
1367,	James Andrew.
1368,	Symond Mordon.
1369,	Johan Chychester.
1370,	Johan Bernes.
1371,	Ditto.
1372,	Johan Pyell.
1373,	Adam of Bury.
1374,	Wyllyam Walworth.
1375,	Johan Warde.
1376,	Adam Staple.
1377,	Nicholas Brembyr.
1378,	Johan Phylpot.
1379,	Johan Hadley.
1380,	Wyllyam Walworthe.
1381,	Johan Northampton.
1382,	Ditto.
1383,	Nicholas Brembyr.
1384,	Ditto.
1385,	Ditto.
1386,	Nycholas Exton.
1387,	Ditto.
1388,	Nicholas Swynford.
1389,	Wyllyam Venour.
1390,	Adam Bamme.
1391,	Johan Heende.
1392,	Wyllyam Stondon.
1393,	Johan Hadley.
1394,	Johan Frenche.
1395,	Wyllyam More.
1396,	Adam Bamme.
1397,	Richard Whittington.
1398,	Drew Barentyne.
1399,	Thomas Knolles.
1400,	Johan Frauncess.
1401,	Johan Shadworth.
1402,	Johan Walcot.
1403,	William Askam.
1404,	Johan Hyende.
1405,	Johan Woodcock.
1406,	Richard Whittington.
1407,	William Stondon.
1408,	Drew Barentyne.
1409,	Richard Marlowe.
1410,	Thomas Knolles.
1411,	Robert Chycheley.
1412,	William Waldren.
1413,	William Crowmer.
1414,	Thomas Fawconer.
1415,	Nicholas Wotton.
1416,	Henry Barton.
1417,	Richard Marlowe.
1418,	William Sevenoke.
1419,	Richard Whittington.
1420,	William Cambrege.
1421,	Richard Chichelee.
1422,	William Waldren.
1423,	William Crowmer.
1424,	Johan Michel.
1425,	Johan Coventre.
1426,	William Rynwell.
1427,	Johan Gedney.
1428,	Henry Barton.
1429,	William Estfeld.
1430,	Nicholas Wotton.
1431,	Johan Wellis.
1432,	Johan Parneys.
1433,	Johan Brokley.
1434,	Robert Otley.
1435,	Henry Frowyk.
1436,	Johan Michell.
1437,	William Estfeld.

Years.	Lord Mayors.
1438,	Stephen Brown.
1439,	Robert Large.
1440,	Johan Paddesley.
1441,	Robert Clopton.
1442,	Johan Atherley.
1443,	Thomas Chatworth.
1444,	Henry Frowick.
1445,	Symken Eyer.
1446,	Johan Olney.
1447,	Johan Gedney.
1448,	Stephen Brown.
1449,	Thomas Chalton.
1450,	Niclas Wyfforde.
1451,	William Gregory.
1452,	Geffery Feldyng.
1453,	Johan Norman.
1454,	Stephen Forster.
1455,	William Marowe.
1456,	Thomas Caning.
1457,	Geffery Boleyn.
1458,	Thomas Scot.
1459,	William Hulyn.
1460,	Richard Lee.
1461,	Hugh Wyche.
1462,	Thomas Cooke.
1463,	Mathew Philip.
1464,	Rauf Josselyne.
1465,	Rauf Verney.
1466,	Johan Yonge.
1467,	Thomas Owlgrave.
1468,	William Taylour.
1469,	Richard Lee.
1470,	Johan Stockton.
1471,	William Edward.
1472,	William Hampton.
1473,	Johan Tate.
1474,	Robert Drope.
1475,	Robert Basset.
1476,	Rauf Josselyn.
1477,	Humphry Heyforde.
1478,	Richard Gardiner.
1479,	Bartilmew James.
1480,	Johan Brown.
1481,	William Haryot.
1482,	Edmund Shaa.
1483,	Robert Billesdon.
1484,	Thomas Hylle.
1485,	Hugh Bryce.
1486,	Henry Colet.
1487,	William Horne.
1488,	Robert Tate.
1489,	William White.
1490,	Johan Mathew.
1491,	Hugh Clopton.
1492,	William Martyn.
1493,	Rauf Astry.
1494,	Richard Chawry.
1495,	Henry Colet.
1496,	Johan Tate.
1497,	William Purchase.
1498,	Johan Percival.
1499,	Nicholas Alwyn.
1500,	Johan Reymington.
1501,	Sir Johan Shaa.
1502,	Bartholomew Reed.
1503,	Sir William Capell.
1504,	Johan Wyngar.
1505,	Thomas Knesworth.
1506,	Sir Richard Haddon.
1507,	William Brown.
1508,	Stephen Jenyns.
1509,	Thomas Bradbury.
1510,	Henry Keble.
1511,	Roger Aichiley.
1512,	Sir William Copinger.
1513	William Brown J. Tate.
1514,	George Monoux.
1515,	Sir William Butler.
1516,	John Rest.
1517,	Sir Thomas Exmew.
1518,	Thomas Mirfin.
1519,	Sir James Yarford.
1520,	Sir John Bruge.
1521,	Sir John Milborne.
1522,	Sir John Munday.
1523,	Sir Thomas Baldry.
1524,	Sir William Bailey.
1525,	Sir John Allen.
1526,	Sir Thomas Seamer.
1527,	Sir James Spencer.
1528,	Sir John Rudstone.

Years.	Lord Mayors.
1529,	Ralph Dodmer.
1530,	Sir Thomas Pargitor.
1531,	Sir Nicholas Lambard.
1532,	Sir Stephen Pecocke.
1533,	Sir Christopher Askew.
1534,	Sir John Champneis.
1535,	Sir John Allen.
1536,	Sir Ralph Waren.
1537,	Sir Richard Gresham.
1538,	William Forman.
1539,	Sir William Holles.
1540,	Sir William Roch.
1541,	Sir Michael Dormer.
1542,	John Cootes.
1543	Sir William Bowyer. / Sir Ralph Waren.
1544,	Sir Willam Laxton.
1545,	Sir Martin Bowes.
1546,	Sir Henry Hubarthorne.
1547,	Sir John Gresham.
1548,	Sir Henry Amcotes.
1549,	Howland Hill.
1550,	Sir Andrew Jude.
1551,	Sir Richard Dobbes.
1552,	Sir George Barnes.
1553,	Sir Thomas White.
1554,	Sir John Lion.
1555,	Sir William Gerard,
1556,	Sir Thomas Offley.
1557,	Sir Thomas Curteis.
1558,	Sir Thomas Leigh.
1559,	Sir William Huet.
1560,	Sir William Chester.
1561,	Sir William Harper.
1562,	Sir Thomas Lodge.
1563,	Sir John White.
1564,	Sir Richard Malorie.
1565,	Sir Richard Champion.
1566,	Sir Christopher Draper.
1567,	Sir Roger Martin.
1568,	Sir Thomas Rowe.
1569,	Alexander Avenon.
1570,	Sir Rowland Heyward.
1571,	Sir William Allen.
1572,	Sir Leonel Ducket.
1573,	Sir John Rivers.
1574,	James Hawes.
1575,	Ambrose Nicholas.
1576,	Sir John Langley.
1577,	Sir Thomas Ramsey.
1578,	Richard Pipe.
1579,	Sir Nicholas Woodrofe.
1580,	Sir John Branch.
1581,	Sir James Harvie.
1582,	Sir Thomas Blancke.
1583,	Edward Osborne.
1584,	Sir Edward Pullison.
1585,	Sir Wolstan Dixie.
1586,	Sir George Barne.
1587,	Sir George Bond.
1588,	Martin Calthorp.
1589,	Sir John Hart.
1590,	John Allot.
1591,	Sir William Web.
1592,	Sir William Rowe.
1593	Sir Cuthbert Buckle. / Sir Richard Martin.
1594,	Sir John Spencer.
1595,	Sir Stephen Slany.
1596	Thomas Skinner. / Sir Henry Ballingsly.
1597,	Sir Richard Saltenstall.
1598,	Sir Stephen Some.
1599,	Sir Nicholas Mosley.
1600,	Sir William Ryder.
1601,	Sir John Gerrard.
1602,	Robert Lee.
1603,	Sir Thomas Bennet.
1604,	Sir Thomas Low.
1605,	Sir Henry Hollyday.
1606,	Sir John Wats.
1607,	Sir Henry Rowe.
1608,	Sir Humphrey Weld.
1609,	Sir Thomas Cambell.
1610,	Sir William Craven.
1611,	Sir James Pemberton.
1612,	Sir John Swinnerton.
1613,	Sir Thomas Middleton.
1614,	Sir John Hayes.
1615,	Sir John Jolles.
1616,	Sir John Leman.
1617,	George Bolles.

Years.	Lord Mayors.
1618,	Sir Sebastian Harvey.
1619,	Sir William Cockain.
1620,	Sir Francis Jones.
1621,	Sir Edward Barkham.
1622,	Sir Peter Proby.
1623,	Sir Martin Lumley.
1624,	Sir John Goare.
1625,	Sir Allen Cotton.
1626,	Sir Cuthbert Aket.
1627,	Sir Hugh Hammersley.
1628,	Sir Richard Deane.
1629,	Sir James Cambell.
1630,	Sir Robert Ducy.
1631,	Sir George Whitmore.
1632,	Sir Nicholas Raynton.
1633,	Ralph Freeman.
1634,	Sir Thomas Moulson.
1635,	Sir Robert Packhurst.
1636,	Sir Christop Clethero.
1637,	Sir Edward Bromfield.
1638,	Sir Richard Fenn.
1639,	Sir Maurice Abbot.
1640,	Sir Henry Garway.
1641,	Sir William Acton.
1642,	Sir Richard Gumey.
1643,	Sir Isaac Pennington.
1644,	Sir John Woollaston.
1645,	Sir Thomas Atkins.
1646,	Sir Thomas Adams.
1647,	Sir John Gayre.
1648,	Sir John Warner.
1649,	Sir Abraham Reynardson.
1650,	Thomas Toote.
1651,	Thomas Andrews.
1652,	John Kendrek.
1653,	John Fowkes.
1654,	Thomas Vyner.
1655,	Christopher Pack.
1656,	John Dethick.
1657,	Robert Tichborne.
1658,	Richard Chiverton.
1659,	Sir John Ireton.
1660,	Sir Thomas Alleyne.
1661,	Sir Richard Brown.
1662,	Sir John Frederick.
1663,	Sir John Robinson.
1664,	Sir Anthony Bateman.
1665,	John Lawrence
1666,	Sir Thomas Bludworth.
1667,	Sir William Bolton.
1668,	Sir William Peake.
1669,	Sir William Turner.
1670,	Sir Samuel Sterling.
1671,	Sir Richard Ford.
1672,	Sir George Waterman.
1673,	Sir Robert Hanson.
1674,	Sir William Hooker.
1675,	Sir Robert Vyner.
1676,	Sir Joseph Sheldon.
1677,	Sir Thomas Davies.
1678,	Sir Francis Chaplin.
1679,	Sir James Edwards.
1680,	Sir Robert Clayton.
1681,	Sir Patience Ward.
1682,	Sir John Moore.
1683,	Sir William Prichard.
1684,	Sir Henry Tulse.
1685,	Sir James Smith.
1686,	Sir Robert Jeffery.
1687,	Sir John Peake.
1688,	Sir John Shorter.
1689	Sir John Chapman, / Sir Thomas Pilkington.
1690,	Sir Thomas Pilkington.
1691,	Ditto
1692,	Sir Thomas Stamp.
1693,	Sir John Fleet.
1694,	Sir William Ashurst.
1695,	Sir Thomas Lane.
1696,	Sir John Houblon.
1697,	Sir Edward Clarke.
1698,	Sir Humphry Edwin.
1699,	Sir Francis Child.
1700,	Sir Richard Levet.
1701,	Sir Thomas Abney.
1702,	Sir William Gore.
1703,	Sir William Dashwood.
1704,	Sir John Parsons.
1705,	Sir Owen Buckingham.
1706,	Sir Thomas Rawlinson.
1707,	Sir Robert Bedingfield.
1708,	Sir William Withers.

Years.	Lord Mayors.
1709,	Sir Charles Duncombe.
1710,	Sir Samuel Gerard.
1711,	Sir Gilbert Heatheote.
1712,	Sir Robert Beachcroft.
1713,	Sir Richard Hoare.
1714,	Sir Samuel Stainer.
1715,	Sir William Humphreys.
1716,	Sir Charles Peers.
1717,	Sir James Bateman.
1718,	Sir William Lewen.
1719,	Sir John Ward.
1720,	Sir George Thorold.
1721,	Sir John Fryer.
1722,	Sir William Stewart.
1723,	Sir Gerard Conyers.
1724,	Sir Peter Delme.
1725,	Sir George Mertins.
1726,	Sir Francis Forbes.
1727,	Sir John Eyles.
1728,	Sir Edward Beecher.
1729,	Sir Robert Bailis.
1730,	Sir Richard Brocas.
1731,	Humphrey Parsons, Esq.
1732,	Sir Francis Child.
1733	John Barber, Esq.
1734,	Sir William Billers.
1735,	Sir Edward Belamy.
1736,	Sir John Williams.
1737,	Sir John Thompson.
1738,	Sir John Barnard.
1739,	Micajah Perry, Esq.
1740,	Sir John Salter.
1741	Hum. Parsons, Esq. Daniel Lambert, Esq.
1742	Sir Robert Godschall. Sir G. Heathcote, Knight.
1743,	Robert Willmot, Esq.
1744,	Sir Robert Westley.
1745,	Sir Henry Marshall.
1746,	Sir Richard Hoare.
1747,	William Benn, Esq.
1748,	Sir Robert Ladbroke.
1749,	Sir William Calvert.
1750	Sir Samuel Pennant. John Blachford, Esq.
1751;	Francis Cockayne, Esq.
1752	T. Winterbottom, Esq. Robert Alsop, Esq.
1753,	Sir Crispe Gascoyne.
1754	Edward Ironside, Esq. Thomas Rawlinson, Esq.
1755,	Ste. Theo. Janssen, Esq.
1756,	Slingsby Bethell, Esq.
1757,	Marshe Dickinson, Esq.
1758,	Sir Charles Asgill.
1759,	Sir Richard Glyn.
1760,	Sir Thomas Chitty.
1761,	Sir Matt. Blakiston.
1762,	Sir Samuel Fludyer.
1763,	Will. Beckford, Esq.
1764,	William Bridgen, Esq.
1765	Sir Will. Stephenson.
1766,	George Nelson, Esq.
1767,	Sir Robert Kite.
1768,	Right Hon. Thos. Harley.
1769,	Samuel Turner, Esq.
1770	Will. Beckford, Esq. Barlow Trecothick, Esq.
1771,	Brass Crosby, Esq.
1772,	William Nash, Esq.
1773,	Jno. Towsend, Esq.
1774,	Fred. Bull, Esq.
1775,	John Wilkes, Esq.
1776,	John Sawbridge, Esq.
1777,	Sir Thos. Halifax, Knight.
1778,	Sir James Esdaile, Knight.
1779,	Samuel Plumbe, Esq.
1780,	Brackley Kennet, Esq.
1781,	Sir Watkin Lewes, Knight.
1782,	Sir Will. Plomer, Knight.
1783,	Nathaniel Newnham, Esq.
1784,	Robert Peckham, Esq.
1785,	Richard Clark, Esq.
1786,	Thomas Wright, Esq.
1787,	Tho. Sainsbury, Esq.
1788,	John Burnell, Esq.
1789,	William Gyll, Esq.
1790,	William Pickett, Esq.
1791,	John Boydell, Esq.
1792,	John Hopkins, Esq.
1793,	Sir James Sanderson, Knight.
1794,	Paul Le Mesurier, Esq.

Years.	Lord Mayors.
1795,	Thomas Skinner, Esq.
1796,	Sir William Curtis, Bart.
1797,	Sir Brook Watson, Bart.
1798,	Sir John Will. Anderson, Bart.
1799,	Sir Richard Carr Glyn, Bart.
1800,	Harvey Chris. Coombe, Esq.
1801,	Sir Will. Staines, Knight.
1802,	Sir John Eamer, Knight.
1803,	Sir Charles Price, Bart.
1804,	John Perring, Esq.
1805,	Peter Perchard, Esq.
1806,	James Shaw, Esq.
1807,	Sir William Leighton.
1808,	James Ansley, Esq.
1809,	Sir Charles Flower, Bart.
1810,	Thomas Smith, Esq.
1811,	Joshua Jonathan Smith, Esq.
1812,	Sir Claudius Stephen Hunter.
1813,	George Scholey, Esq.
1814,	Sir William Domville, Bart.
1815,	Samuel Birch, Esq.
1816 1817	Matthew Wood, Esq.
1818,	Christ. Smith, Esq.
1819,	John Atkins, Esq.
1820,	George Bridges, Esq.
1821,	Jno. Thos. Thorpe, Esq.
1822,	Chris. Magnay, Esq.
1823,	William Heygate, Esq.
1824,	Robert Waithman, Esq.
1825,	John Garratt, Esq.
1826,	William Venables, Esq.
1827,	Anthony Brown, Esq.
1828,	Matthias Prime Lucas, Esq.
1829,	W. Thompson, Esq.
1830,	John Crowder, Esq.
1831,	John Key, Esq.
1832,	Sir John Key, Bart.
1833,	Sir Peter Laurie, Bart.
1834,	Chas. Farebrother, Esq.
1835,	Henry Winchester, Esq.
1836,	W. Taylor Copeland, Esq.
1837,	Thos. Kelly, Esq.
1838,	John Cowan, Esq.
1839,	Samuel Wilson, Esq.
1840,	Sir Chapman Marshall, Bart.
1841,	Thomas Johnson, Esq.
1842,	John Pirie, Esq.
1843,	John Humphrey, Esq.
1844,	William Magnay, Esq.
1845,	Michael Gibbs, Esq.
1846,	John Johnson, Esq.

A LIST OF THE SHERIFFS OF LONDON.

Years.	Sheriffs.
00,	Wolgarius.
00,	Geffrey de Magnum.
00,	Hugh Bock.
00,	Abericus de Vere.
00,	Gilbert Beck, Peter Fitz Walter.
00,	John Fitz Negelly, Ernulph Buchell.
1188,	Hen. de Cornhell, Rich. Reyner.
1189,	John Herlisum, Roger le Duk.
1190,	Will. de Havylle, J. Bokoynte.
1191,	Nichole Duket, Peres Nevlum.
1192,	Roger le Duc, Roger fil. Alani.
1193,	Will. fil. Isabel, Will. fil. Aluf.
1194,	Robert Besaul, Jukel Alderman.
1195,	Godard de Antioche, Robert fil. Durant.
1196,	Rob. Blundul, Nichole Duket.
1197,	Constantine fil. Aluf Rob. de Bel.
1198,	Arnaud fil. Aluf Richard fil. Barthelmi.
1199,	Roger de Desert Jacob Alderman.
1200,	Simon de Aldermanbir, Will. fil. Aliz.
1201,	Normant le Blunt, John de Kai.
1202,	Walt. le Brun. Will. Chaumberleyn.
1203,	Tho. de Haville, Hamund Brand.
1204,	John Waleran, Rich. de Wincestrie.
1205,	John Elylond, Edmund de la Halle.
1206,	Serle Mercier, Henry de Sent Auban.
1207,	Robt. de Wincestre, Will. Hardel.
1208,	Thos. fil. Neel, Peres le Duc.
1209,	Peres le Juneen, William Wite.
1210,	Stephen Crassul, Adam Witeby.
1211,	Goce fil. Peres, John Gerlande.
1212,	Const. Unienis, Randulph Elyland.
1213,	Martin fil. Aliz, Peter Bac.
1214,	Salmon de Basing, Hugo de Basing.
1215,	Andrew Nevelun, John Travers.
1216,	Benet le Seynter, W. Blundus.
1217,	Randulph Elyland, T. Bokerel.
1218,	Goce le Pesur, John Viel.
1219,	John Viel, Richard de Wimbledon.
1220,	Rich. Renger, Goce Juniens.
1221,	Richard Renger, Thos. Lambert.
1222,	Thos. Lambert, Wm. Joyner.
1223,	John Travers, Andrew Bokerel.
1224,	Andrew Bokerel, John Travers.

Years.	Sheriffs.
1225,	Roger le Duc, Martyn fil. William.
1226,	Martyn fil. William, Roger le Duc.
1227,	Henry de Cochin, Step. Bokerel.
1228,	Step. Bokerel, Henry de Cochin.
1229,	Rob. fil. John, Walter de Wencestre.
1230,	John de Woburne, Richard fil. Walter.
1231,	Walter de Bufle, Michel de Seynt Heleyne.
1232,	Henry Edlmonton, Gerard Bat.
1233,	Roger Blundus, Simon fil. Marie.
1234,	Radulph Aswy, John Norman.
1235,	Gerard Bat, Robert Hardel.
1236,	Henry de Cochin, Jurdan de Coventre.
1237,	J. de Walbroc, Gervase Chaumberleyne.
1238,	John de Wilehale, John de Coudres.
1239,	Remer de Bungeye, Radulph Aswy.
1240,	Michael Tony, John de Gysors.
1241,	John Viel, Thomas Dureme.
1242,	Radulph Aswy, Thos. fil. John.
1243,	Adam de Gyseburne, Hugo Blundul.
1244,	Nichole Bat, Radulph de Arcubus.
1245,	Nichole Bat, Rob. de Cornhull.
1246,	Simon fil. Marie, Laurence de Frowick.
1247,	William Viel, Nichole Bat.
1248,	Nichole fil. Jocei, Galfred de Wincestre.
1249,	John Tolesan, Radulph Hardel.
1250,	Humf de Faber, William fil. Richard.
1251,	Nichole Bat. Laurence de Frowick.
1252,	William de Dureme, Thomas de Winburne.
1253,	Rd. Picard, John de Norhamton.
1254,	Wm. Aswy, Hen. Walemund.
1255,	Mathias Bokerel, John le Minur.
1256,	Wm. Aswy Richard Ewelle.
1257,	Thomas fil. Thomas, Robert de Catelene.
1258,	John Adrian, R. de Cornhull.
1259,	Adam Browning, Henry de Coventre.
1260,	Rd. Picard, John de Norhamton.
1261,	Philip le Tailur, Rd. de Walebroc.
1262,	Osbert de Suffolchia, Robert de Munpeylers.
1263,	Gregori de Rokesle, Thomas de Forda.
1264,	Edward Blund, Peter Aunger.
1265,	Gregori de Rokesle, Simon Hadestok.
1266,	John Adryan, Luke Badecot.
1267,	Tho. Basynge, Rob. de Cornehyll.
1268,	W. de Durham, Walter Henry.
1269,	Willyam Haddystoke, Anketyll de Alverne.
1270,	Walter Porter, John Taylour.
1271,	Gregory Rokysle, Hy. Waleys.
1272,	Rychard Parys, John Bedyll.
1273,	Johan Horne, Walter Potter.
1274,	Nich. Wynchester, H. Coventre.
1275,	Lucas Patincourt, H. Frowyke.
1276,	Johan Horne, Rauffe Blount.
1277,	Robt. Bracey, Rauffe Fenour.
1278,	Johan Adryan, Walter Langley.
1279,	Rob. Basyng, Wyllyam Mazarer.
1280,	Thomas Box, Rauffe More.
1281,	Wyll. Faryngdon, Nic. Wynchester.

Years.	Sheriffs.
1282,	Wyll. Mazarer, Nic. Wynchester.
1283,	Rauffe Blunt, Hawkyn Betnell.
1284,	Jordan Goodchepe, Martyn Box.
1285,	Steph. Cornchyll, Rob. Rokesby.
1286,	Walter Blount, Johan Wade.
1287,	Thos. Crosse, Willyam Hawteyn.
1288,	Wyllyam Hereford, Thomas Stanys.
1289,	Wyll. Betayn, Johan of Canterbury.
1290,	Fulke of St. Edmunde, Salamon Langforde.
1291,	Thos. Romayn, Wyll. de Lyre.
1292,	Rauffe Blount, Hamonde Boxe.
1293,	Henry Bale, Elys Russell.
1294,	Robert Rokesley, Martin Awbry.
1295,	Henry Boxe, Richarde Glouceter.
1296,	Johan Dunstable, Ad. Halyngbery.
1297,	Thos. Suff, Adpm de Fulham.
1298,	John de Stortforde, Willyam de Stortforde.
1299,	Rich. Reffham, Thos. Seley.
1300,	John Armenter, Henry de Fryngeryth.
1301,	Luke Haverynge, Rd. Champeis.
1302,	Robert Caller, Peter Bosham.
1303,	Hugh Pourt, Simon Parys.
1304,	Wyllyam Combmartyn, Johan de Burfforde.
1305,	Roger Parys, John Lyncolln.
1306,	Raynold Doderell, Wm. Cansyn.
1307,	Symon Bolet, Godfrey de la Conduyt.
1308,	Nicholas Pygotte, Myghell Drury.
1309,	Wyllyam Basynge, John Butler.
1310,	James of St. Edmunde, Roger Palmer.
1311,	Symon Scroppe, Peter Blacnay.
1312,	Symon Merwode, Ryeh. Wylforde.
1313,	John Lambyn, Adam Lutekyn.
1314,	Adam Burden, Hugh Gayton.
1315,	Stephan of Abyngdone, Hamonde Chykwell.
1316,	Hamonde Goodehepe, Wyllyam Redynge.
1317,	Wyllyam Caston, Rauffe Palmer.
1318,	Johan Pryoure, Wm. Furneure.
1319,	Johan Pontenay, John Dallynge.
1320,	Symon Abyngdon, Johan Preston.
1321,	Reynolde at Conduyt, Wyllyam Prodham.
1322,	Rych. Constantyne, Rich. Hakeney.
1323,	Johan Grantham, Rych. of Ely.
1324,	Adam Salisbury, Johan of Oxynforde.
1325,	Benet of Fulham, Johan Causton.
1326,	Gylbert Moordon, Johan Cotton.
1327,	Henry Darcy, Johan Hawteyne.
1328,	Sym. Fraunces, Hen. Combmartyne.
1329,	Rychard Lazar, Henry Gysors.
1330,	Robert of Ely, Tho. Harworde.
1331,	Johan Moekynge, Andrew Awbry.
1332,	Nicholas Pyke, Johan Husband.
1333,	Johan Hamonde, Wyll. Hansarde.
1334,	Johan Kyngston, Walter Turke.

Years.	Sheriffs.
1335,	Walter Mordon, Richard Upton.
1336,	Wyllyam Brykelsworthe, Johan Northall.
1337,	Walter Neale, Nych. Crane.
1338,	Wyll. Pountfreyt, Hugh Marbre.
1339,	Wyll. Thorney, Roger Forsham.
1340,	Adam Lucas, Bartho. Marres.
1341,	Rd. Berkyng, Johan Rockyslec.
1342,	Johan Luskyn, Rd. Kyslyngbury.
1343,	Johan Stewarde, Johan Aleysham.
1344,	Geffrey Wychyngham, Thos. Legge.
1345,	Edm. Hempnall, Joh. Glouceter.
1346,	Johan Croydon, W. Clopton.
1347,	Adam Bramson, Rd. Besyngstoke.
1348,	Henry Pycarde, Symond Dolsely.
1349,	Adam Bury, Rauffe Lynne.
1350,	Johan Notte, Wyll. Worcestre.
1351,	Johan Wrothe, Gylbert Steyndrope.
1352,	Johan Peche, Johan Stodeney.
1353,	Johan Welde, Johan Lytell.
1354,	Will. Totyngham, Rd. Smert.
1355,	Thos. Forster, Thos. Brandon.
1356,	Richard Notyngham, Thomas Dosell.
1357,	Stephen Caundyshe, Bartylmewe Frestelyng.
1358,	Johan Bernes, Johan Buryn.
1359,	Symond de Benyngton, Johan Chychester.
1360,	Johan Denys, Walter Borney.
1361,	Wyllyam Holbech, James Tame.
1362,	John of St. Albones, James Andrew.
1363,	Rich. Croydon, John Hyltoste.
1364,	Johan of Mertforde, Symond de Mordon.
1365,	Johan Bykylsworth, Johan Yrelande.
1366,	Johan Warde, Wyll. Dykman.
1367,	Johan Tergolde, Wyll. Dykman.
1368,	Amd. Wymbyrgham, Rob. Gyrdeler.
1369,	Johan Pyell, Hugh Holdyche.
1370,	William Walworth, Robert Gayton.
1371,	Robert Hatfelde, Robert Gayton.
1372,	Johan Phylpott, Nycholas Brember.
1373,	Johan Awbry, Johan Fysshyde.
1374,	Rycharde Lyons, Wyll. Wodhouse.
1375,	Johan Hadley, Wyll. Newporte.
1376,	Johan Northamton, Rob. Launde.
1377,	And. Pykman, Nich. Twyforde.
1378,	Johan Boseman, Tho. Cornwaleys.
1379,	Johan Heylesson, Wyllyam Baret.
1380,	Walter Docet, Wyll. Knyghthode.
1381,	Johan Rote, Johan Hynde.
1382,	Johan Sely, Adam Bamme.
1383,	Symond Winchcombe, John More.
1384,	Nicholas Ereton, Johan Frensbe.
1385,	John Organ, Johan Chyrcheman.
1386,	Wyllyam Stondon, Wyll. More.
1387,	Wyllyam Venour, Hughe Forstalfe.
1388,	Thomas Austeyne, Adam Cathyll.

Years.	Sheriffs.
1389,	Johan Walcot, Johan Loveney.
1390,	Tho. Vyvent, Johan Fraunces.
1391,	Johan Chadworth, Hen. Vamere.
1392,	Gilb. Manfelde, Tho. Newyngtyn.
1393,	Rich. Whyttington, Drew Barentyne.
1394,	Wyll. Brampton, Tho. Knolles
1395,	Roger Elys, Johan Sheryngham.
1396,	Thomas Wylforde, Wyll. Parker.
1397,	Wyll. Askeham, Johan Wodecoke.
1398,	Johan Wade, Johan Warner.
1399,	Wyll. Waldern, Wyll. Hyde.
1400,	Wyll. Wakele, Wyll. Eliot.
1401,	Wyll. Venour, Will. Fremyngham.
1402,	Rich. Marlowe, Rob. Chicheley.
1403,	Thos. Fawkoner, Thos. Poll.
1404,	Will. Lowste, Steph. Spylman.
1405,	Henry Barton, Woll. Crowner.
1406,	Nych. Wotton, Godfrey Brook.
1407,	Hy. Pomfret, Hy. Hatton.
1408,	Thomas Duke, Wyll. Norton.
1409,	Johan Lawe, Wyll. Chychelcy.
1410,	Johan Penne, Thomas Pyke.
1411,	Johan Raynewell, Wyll. Cotton.
1412,	Rauf Levenhem, Wyll. Sevynok.
1413,	Johan Sutton, Johan Micoll.
1414,	Johan Mychell, Thos. Aleyn.
1415,	Aleyn Everard, Th. Cambrydge.
1416,	Rob. Wodtyngdon, Johan Coventre.
1417,	Henry Rede, Johan Gedney.
1418,	Johan Bryan, Rauffe Barton, Johan Parnasse.
1419,	Rob. Whytingham, Johan Butler.
1420,	Johan Boteler, Wyll. Weston.
1421,	Rich. Gosselyn, Wyll. Weston.
1422,	Wm. Estfelde, Rob. Tatersale.
1423,	Nych. James, Th. Wadeforde.
1424,	Symon Seman, John Bywater.
1425,	Wyll. Mylred, Johan Brokle.
1426,	Johan Arnold, Johan Hygham.
1427,	Henry Frowick, Robert Otley.
1428,	Tho. Duffhouse, Rauffe Holand.
1429,	Johan Ruffe, Rauffe Holand.
1430,	Water Chertsey, Robt. Large.
1431,	Johan Addyrlee, Step. Browne
1432,	Johan Olney, Johan Paddysley.
1433,	Thos. Chalton, Johan Lynge.
1434,	Thos. Bernwell, Simond Eyer.
1435,	Thos. Catworth, Robt. Clopton.
1436,	Thos. Morsted, Wyll. Gregory.
1437,	Wyll. Chapman, Wyll. Halys.
1438,	Hugh Dyke, Nicholas Yoo.
1439,	Rob. Marchall, Phylyp Malpas.
1440,	Johan Sutton, Wyll. Whetynhale.
1441,	William Cumbys, Rd. Ryche.
1442,	Thos. Beaumont, Rich. Nordon.
1443,	Nych. Wyfforde, Johan Norman.
1444,	Stephen Forster, Hugh Wyche.
1445,	Johan Derby, Geffrey Feldyng.
1446,	Robert Horne, Godfrey Boloyne.
1447,	Wyll. Abraham, Thomas Scot.
1448,	Wyll. Cantlow, Wyll. Marowe.
1449,	Wyll. Hulyn, Tho. Canynges.
1450,	Johan Mydylton, Wyll. Dere.
1451,	Math. Phylyp, Chrystofer Warton.
1452,	Richard Lee, Richarde Alley.
1453,	Johan Walden, Thomas Cooke.

Years.	Sheriffs.
1454,	Johan Felde, Wyll. Taylour.
1455,	Johan Yonge, Thos. Oulgrave.
1456,	Johan Steward, Raufe Verney.
1457,	Wyll. Edward, Thomas Reyner.
1458,	Raufe Joselyn, Rich. Nedeham.
1459,	Johan Plummer, Wyll. Stocker.
1460,	Rych. Hemynge, Johan Lambarde.
1461,	Johan Looke, Geo. Irelande.
1462,	Will. Hampton, Bartylmew Jemys.
1463,	Robert Basset, Thomas Muschamp.
1464,	John Tate, Johan Stone.
1465,	Sir Henry Wavyr, James Constantyne.
1466,	Johan Brown, Hy. Bryce, Johan Stockton.
1467,	Humffry Heyforde, Thos. Stalbroke.
1468,	Wyll. Haryot, Symond de Smyth.
1469,	Robert Drope, Rich. Gardyner.
1470,	Johan Crosby, Johan Warde.
1471,	Johan Alleyn, Johan Shelley,
1472,	Johan Browne, Thos. Bledlow.
1473,	Johan Stocker, Robt. Byllysdon.
1474,	Edmond Shaa, Thomas Hylle.
1475,	Hugh Bryce, Robert Colwych.
1476,	Richard Rawson, Wyll. Horne.
1477,	Johan Stocker, Henry Colet.
1478,	Robert Hardynge, Robert Byfelde.
1479,	Thomas Ilam, Johan Warde.
1480,	William Danyell, Wm. Bakon.
1481,	Robert Tate, Wyll. Wyking, Richarde Chawry.
1482,	Wyll. Whyte, Johan Mathewe
1483,	Thomas Norlond Wyll. Martyn.
1484,	Rich. Chestir, Thos. Bretayn.
1485,	Johan Tate, Johan Tate.
1486,	Hugh Clopton, Johan Percyvall.
1487,	Johan Fenkyll, Johan Remington.
1488,	Wyllyam Isaak, Rauf Tilny.
1489,	Wyll. Capell, Johan Brook.
1490,	Henry Coote, Robert Revell, Hugh Pemberton.
1491,	Thomas Wood, Wyll. Browne
1492,	Will. Purchase, Wyll. Walbek.
1493,	Robert Fabyan, Johan Wyngar.
1494,	Nycholas Alwyn, Johan Warner.
1495,	Thos. Knesworth, Henry Somyr.
1496,	Johan Shaa, Richarde Haddon
1497,	Bartholemew Reed, Thos. Wyndowght.
1498,	Thos. Bradbery, Steven Jenyns.
1499,	James Wilforde, Rychard Brond.
1500,	Johan Hawys, William Stede
1501,	Syr Laurence Aylemer, Henry Hede.
1502,	Henry Keble, Nycholas Nynes
1503,	Chrystoffer Hawyss, Robert Wattes, Thomas Granger.
1504,	Roger Achylly, Wm. Browne.
1505,	Richard Shore, Roger Grove.
1506,	Wyll. Copynger, Tho. Johnson, Wm. Fitz-Wyllyams.
1507,	William Butler, Johan Kirkby
1508,	Thomas Exmew, Rychard Smyth.
1509,	George Monox, John Doget.
1510,	John Milborne, John Rest.
1511,	Nicholas Skelton, Tho. Mirfine.
1512,	Robt. Aldarnes, Robt. Fenrother.
1513,	John Dawes, John Bridges.
1514,	James Yarford, John Monday.

Years.	Sheriffs.
1515,	Henry Warley, Richard Grey, William Bailey.
1516,	Thomas Seimer, John Thurston.
1517,	Thos. Baldrie, Raph Simondes.
1518,	John Allen, James Speneer.
1519,	John Wilkinson, Nicholas Patrich.
1520,	Sir John Skevington, John Kym.
1521,	John Breton, Thomas Pargetor.
1522,	John Rudstone, John Champneis.
1523,	Michael English, Nich. Jenines
1524,	Raph Dodmer, William Roch.
1525,	John Caunton, Christopher Askew.
1526,	Stephen Peaeoeke, Nieh. Lambert.
1527,	John Hardy, William Holles.
1528,	Raph Warren, John Long.
1529,	Michael Dormer, Walter Champion.
1530,	Will. Dauntsey, Richard Champion.
1531,	Richard Gresham, Edw. Altham.
1532,	Richard Reynoldes, Nicholas Pinchon, John Martin, John Priest.
1533,	William Forman, Sir Thomas Kitson.
1534,	Nicholas Levison, Will. Denham.
1535,	Humfrey Munmouth, John Cootes.
1536,	Robert Paget, William Boyer.
1537,	Sir John Gresham, Thos. Lewen.
1538,	Wyll. Welkenson, Nieh. Gibson.
1539,	John Feiry, Thomas Huntlow
1540,	Sir William Laxton, Martin Bowes.
1541,	Rowland Hill, Henry Suckly.
1542,	Henry Habberthorne, Hy. Amcotes.
1543,	John Toleus, Richard Dobbes.
1544,	John Wilford, Andrew Jude.
1545,	George Barnes, Ralph Alley.
1546,	Richard Jarveis, Thos. Curteis.
1547,	Thomas White, Robert Charsey.
1548,	Will. Loeke, Sir John Ailife.
1549,	Richard Turke, John Yorke.
1550,	Augustine Hind, John Lyon.
1551,	John Lamberd, John Cowper.
1552,	William Gerard, John Maynard.
1553,	Thomas Offley, William Huet.
1554,	David Woodrofe, Will. Chester.
1555,	Thomas Leigh, John Machill.
1556,	William Harper, John White.
1557,	Richard Malorie, James Aitham.
1558,	John Halse, Richard Champion.
1559,	Thomas Lodge, Roger Martin
1560,	Christopher Draper, Thos. Row.
1561,	Alexander Avenon, Humphrey Baskerville.
1562,	William Alin, Richard Chamberlaine.
1563,	Edward Bankes, Rowland Heyward.
1564,	Edw. Jakeman, Leonel Ducket.
1565,	John Rivers, James Hawes.
1566,	Richard Lambert, Ambrose Nicholas.
1567,	Thomas Ramsey, Will. Bond.
1568,	John Oleph, Robert Harding, James Bacon.
1569,	Henry Beeher, William Dane.
1570,	Franeis Bernam, Wm. Box.
1571,	Henry Miles, John Braneh.
1572,	Richard Pipe, Nicholas Woodrofe.

Years.	Sheriffs.
1573,	James Harvie, Thos. Pullison.
1574,	Thomas Blancke, Anthony Gamage.
1575,	Edward Osborne, Wolstane Dixie.
1576,	Wm. Kimpton, George Barne.
1577,	Nicholas Backhouse Francis Bowyer.
1578,	George Bond, Thomas Starkie.
1579,	Martin Calthorp, John Hart.
1580,	Ralph Woodcock, John Alate.
1581,	Richard Martin, William Webbe.
1582,	William Rowe, John Hayden.
1583,	Wm. Masham, John Spencer.
1584,	Stephen Slany, Henry Billingsly.
1585,	Anthony Radcliffe, Hen. Parnell.
1586,	Robert House, William Elkin.
1587,	Thomas Skinner, John Ketcher.
1588,	Hugh Ofley, Richard Saltenstall.
1589,	Richard Gurney, Stephen Some.
1590,	Nicholas Mosley, Robert Broke.
1591,	William Rider, Benet Barnham.
1592,	John Gerard, Robert Taylor.
1593,	Paul Banning, Peter Hanton.
1594,	Robert Lee, Thomas Benet.
1595,	Thos. Low, Leonard Holiday.
1596,	John Wattes, Richard Godard.
1597,	Henry Rowe, John More.
1598,	Edw. Holmeden, Rob. Hampson.
1599,	Humphrey Weld, Roger Clarke.
1600,	Robert Cambell, Thomas Smith.
1601,	Henry Anderson, Wm. Glover.
1602,	James Pemberton, John Swinnerton.
1603,	Sir Wm. Rumney, Sir Thos. Middleton.
1604,	Sir Thomas Hayes, Sir Roger Jones.
1605,	Clement Scudamor, Sir John Jolles.
1606,	William Walthall, John Lemon.
1607,	Geffrey Elwes, Nicholas Style.
1608,	George Bolles, Rich. Farrington.
1609,	Sebastian Harvey, William Cockaine.
1610,	Richard Pyat, Francis Jones.
1611,	Edward Barkham, George Smithes.
1612,	Edward Rotherham, Alexander Prescot.
1613,	Thomas Bennet, Henry Jaye.
1614,	Peter Proby, Martin Lumley.
1615,	William Goare, John Goare.
1616,	Allen Cotten, Cuthbert Hacket.
1617,	Wm. Holyday, Robert Johnson.
1618,	Richard Hearne, Hugh Hammersley.
1619,	Richard Deane, Jas. Cambell.
1620,	Edward Allen, Robert Ducie.
1621,	George Whitmore, Nich. Rainton.
1622,	John Hodges, Humfrey Hanford.
1623,	Ralph Freeman Thos. Moulson.
1624,	Rowland Heilin, Robert Packhurst.
1625,	Thos. Westway, Ellis Crispe, John Poole, Christopher Cletheroe.
1626,	Edw. Bromfield, Richard Fenne.
1627,	Maurice Abbot, Henry Garway.
1628,	Rowland Backhouse, William Acton.

Years.	Sheriffs.
1629,	Humfrey Smith, Edmund Wright.
1630,	Arthur Abdy, Rob. Cambell.
1631,	Samuel Cranmer Henry Prat.
1632,	Hugh Perry, Henry Andrews.
1633,	Gilbert Harrison, Rich. Gumey.
1634,	John Highlord, John Cordall.
1635,	Thomas Soame, John Gayer.
1636,	Wm. Abell, Jacob Gerrard.
1637,	Thomas Atkyn, Edward Rudge.
1638,	Isaac Pennington, John Woollaston.
1639,	Thomas Adams, John Warner.
1640,	John Towse, Abraham Reynardson.
1641,	George Garret. George Clarke.
1642,	John Langham, Thos. Andrews.
1643,	John Fowke, James Bunce.
1644,	Wm. Gibbs, Richard Chambers.
1645,	John Kendrick, Thomas Foote.
1646,	Thomas Cullum, Simon Edmonds.
1647,	Samuel Avery, John Bide.
1648,	Thomas Vyner, Rich. Brown.
1649,	Chr. Pack, Rowland Wilson, John Dethick.
1650,	Robert Tichborne, Richard Chiverton,
1651,	John Ireton, Andrew Ryccard.
1652,	Stephen Eastwick, William Underwood.
1653,	James Philips, Walter Big.
1554,	Edmund Sleigh, Thos. Alleyn.
1655,	Wm. Thompson, John Frederick.
1656,	Tempest Milner, Nathaniel Temse.
1657.	John Robinson, Thos. Chandler, Richard King.
1658,	Anthony Bateman, John Lawrence.
1659,	Francis Warner, Wm. Love.
1660,	William Bolton, William Peake.
1661,	Francis Menhil, Samuel Starling.
1662,	Sir Thomas Bludworth, Sir Wm. Turner.
1663,	Sir Rich. Ford, Sir R. Rives.
1664,	George Waterman, Charles Doe.
1665,	Robert Hanson, Wm. Hooker.
1666,	Sir Robert Vyner, Sir Joseph Sheldon.
1667,	Sir Dennis Gawden, Thomas Davies.
1668,	John Froth, Francis Chaplin.
1669,	John Smith, James Edwards.
1670,	Dannet Forth, Wm. Gomeldon, Patience Ward.
1671,	Jonat. Dawes, RobertClayton, John Moore.
1672,	Sir Wm. Pritchard, Sir James Smith.
1673,	Henry Tulse, Robert Jefferey.
1674,	Sir Nathaniel Herne, John Lethieulier.
1675,	Thomas Gold, John Shorter.
1676,	John Peake, Thomas Stampe.
1677,	Wm. Rawstone, Thomas Beckford.
1678,	Richard How, John Chapman.
1679,	Jonathan Raymond, Simon Lewis.
1680,	Slingsby Bethell, Henry Cornish.
1681,	Thos. Pilkington, Samuel Shute.
1682,	Dudley North, Peter Rich.
1683,	Peter Daniel, Samuel Dashwood.
1684,	Wm. Gosling, Peter Vandepute.
1685,	Benjamin Thorowgood, Thos. Kensey.

Years.	Sheriffs.
1686,	Thos. Rawlinson, Thos. Fowles.
1687,	Bazil Firebrace, John Parsons.
1688,	Sir Humphry Edwin, John Fleet
1689,	Christ. Lethieulier, John Houblon
1690,	Edward Clark, Francis Child.
1691,	Wm. Ashurst, Rich. Levett.
1692,	Thomas Lane, Thomas Cook.
1693,	Thomas Abney, Wm. Hedges.
1694,	John Sweetapple, Wm. Cole.
1695,	Ed. Mills, Owen Buckingham.
1696,	John Wolfe, Samuel Blewit.
1697,	Bartholomew Gracedieu, James Collet.
1698,	Wm. Gore, Joseph Smart.
1699,	Charles Duncombe, Jeffrey Jeffries.
1700,	Robert Beachcroft, Henry Furnece.
1701,	Wm. Withers, Peter Floyer, James Bateman.
1702,	Rob. Beddingfield, Samuel Garvard.
1703,	Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Sir Joseph Wolfe.
1704,	Sir John Buckworth, Sir William Humfries.
1705,	Sir Charles Thorold, Sir Samuel Stanier.
1706,	Sir William Benson, Sir Ambrose Crowley.
1707,	Benjamin Green, Sir Charles Peers.
1708,	Charles Hopton, Richard Guy.
1709,	Sir Richard Hoare, Thomas Dunk.
1710,	Sir George Thorold, Francis Eyles.
1711,	John Cass, William Stewart.
1712,	William Lewen, Sir Samuel Clarke.
1713,	Francis Forbes, Joshua Sharpe.
1714,	Robert Bredon, Sir Randolph Knipe.
1715,	Sir John Ward, Sir John Fryer.
1716,	Sir Gerard Conyers, Charles Cooke.
1717,	Sir Peter Delme, Sir Harcourt Master.
1718,	Sir John Bull, Sir Thomas Ambrose.
1719,	Sir John Eyles, Sir John Tash.
1720,	Sir George Caswell, Sir William Billers.
1721,	Sir George Mertins, Edward Becher.
1722,	Humphrey Parsons, Fran. Child, Esqrs.
1723,	Sir Richard Hopkins, Felix Feast, Edw. Bellamy, Esqrs.
1724,	Robert Baylis, Joshua Eyles, Esqrs.
1725,	Francis Porten, Jeremiah Morden, John Thompson, Esqrs.
1726,	Sir John Lock, William Ogborne, Esq.
1727,	Sir John Grosvenor, Thomas Lombe, Esq.
1728,	Richard Brocas, Richard Levett, Esqrs.
1729,	Sir John Williams, John Barber, Esq.
1730,	John Fuller, Esq., Sir Isaac Shard.
1731,	Samuel Russell, Thomas Pindar, Esqrs.
1732,	Robert Alsop, Henry Hankey, Esqrs.
1733,	Robert Wesley, Daniel Lambert, Esqs.
1734,	Micajah Perry, John Slaters Esqrs.
1735,	Sir John Barnard, Sir Robert Goodschall.
1736,	Sir William Rous, Benjamin Rawling, Esq.

Years.	Sheriffs.
1737,	Sir George Champion, Thos. Russel, Esq. Sir Robert Kendall Carter.
1738,	James Brooke, W. Westbrook, Esqrs.
1739,	George Heathcote, Esq. Sir John Lequesne.
1740,	Henry Marshall, Rich. Hoare, Esqrs.
1741,	Robert Willmot, Will. Smith, Esqrs.
1742,	William Benn, Charles Eggleton, Esqrs.
1743,	Sir Robert Ladbroke, Sir Will. Calvert.
1744,	Walt. Bernard, Esq., Sir Samuel Pennant.
1745,	Jno. Blanchford, Fra. Cockayne, Esqrs.
1746,	Thomas Winterbottom, Robt. Alsop, Esqrs.
1747,	Sir Crisp Gascoyne, E. Davies, Esqrs.
1748,	Edw. Ironside, Tho. Rawlinson, Esqrs.
1749,	William Whittaker, Step. Theodore Janssen, Esqrs.
1750,	Wm. Alexander, Robt. Scott, Esqrs.
1751,	Slingsby Bethell, Marshe Dickinson, Esqrs.
1752,	Sir Charles Asgill, Sir Rich. Glyn.
1753,	Sir Thomas Chitty, Sir Mat. Blakiston.
1754,	Sir Samuel Fludyer, Sir John Torriano.
1755,	Wm. Beckford, Ive Whitbread, Esqrs.
1756,	Wm. Bridgen, Wm. Stephenson, Esqrs.
1757,	G. Nelson, F. Gosling, Esqrs.
1758,	Alex. Masters, J. Dandridge, Esqrs.
1759,	George Errington, P. Vaillant, Esqrs.
1760,	Sir Rob. Kite, Sir W. Hart.
1761,	Sir N. Nash, Sir John Cartwright.
1762,	Sir Thomas Challonor, Sir Henry Banks.
1763,	Hon. Thomas Harley, Rich. Blunt, S. Turner, Esqrs.
1764,	Sir Thos. Harris, Brass Crosby, Esq.
1765,	Brackley Kennett, B. Charlwood, Barlow Trecothick, Esqrs.
1766,	Sir R. Darling, Sir J. Esdaile.
1767,	Rich. Peers, W. Nash. Esqrs.
1768,	Sir Thos. Halifax, John Shakspeare, Esq.
1769,	James Townsend, John Sawbridge, Esqrs.
1770,	William Raker, Joseph Martin, Esqrs.
1771,	John Wilkes, Fred. Bull, Esqrs.
1772,	Richard Oliver, Esq. Sir W. Lewes.
1773,	Stephen Sayre, William Lee, Esqrs.
1774,	Wm. Plomer, John Hart, Esqrs.
1775,	George Hayley, Nath. Newnham, Esqrs.
1776,	Samuel Plumbe, N. Thomas, Esqrs.
1777,	Rob. Peckham, Richard Clarke, Esqrs.
1778,	John Burnell, Henry Kitchen, Esqrs.
1779,	T. Wright, Evan Pugh, Esqrs.
1780,	Thomas Sainsbury, William Crichton, Esqrs.
1781,	William Gill, William Nicholson, Esqrs.
1782,	Sir Rob. Taylor, Knt. Benj. Cole, Esq.
1783,	Wm. Pickitt, Thos. Skinner, Esqrs., Sir Barnard Turner, Knt.

Years.	Sheriffs.
1784,	John Hopkins, John Bates, John Boydell, Esqrs.
1785,	Sir Jas. Sanderson, Knt., Brook Watson, Esq.
1786,	Paul Le Mesurier, Chas Higgins, Esqrs.
1787,	James Fenn, Matt. Bloxham, Esqrs.
1788,	William Curtis, Esq., Sir Benjamin Hammatt, Knt.
1789,	William Newman, Thos. Baker, Esqrs.
1790,	Geo. Mackenzie Macauley, Ric. Carr Glyn, Esqrs.
1791,	John Will. Anderson, Harvey Christian Combe, Esqrs.
1792,	Alex. Brander, Esq., Sir Ben. Tebbs, Knt.
1793,	Peter Parchard, C. Hammerton, Esqrs.
1794,	Sir John Eamer, Sir Robert Burnett, Knts.
1795,	Sir Rich. Glode, Knt., John Liptrap, Esq.
1796,	Sir Steph. Langston. Sir W. Staines, Knts.
1797,	Sir William Herne, Knt., R. Williams, Jun., Esq.
1798,	Will. Champion, Peter Mellish, Charles Price, Esqrs.
1799,	Charles Flower, J. Blackwall, Esqrs.
1800,	J. Perring, T. Cadell, Esqrs.
1801,	Sir Will. Rawlins, Knt., Robert Albion Cox, Esq.
1802,	Sir Rich. Welsh, Sir John Alexander, Barts.
1803,	Jas. Shaw, Esq., Sir William Leighton, Knt.
1804,	G. Scholey, Will. Domville, Esqrs.
1805,	Jno. Ansley, T. Smith. Esqrs.
1806,	Sir Jonathan Miles, Sir James Branscomb, Knts.
1807,	Christ. Smith, Esq., Sir R. Phillips, Knt.
1808,	Joshua Jno. Smith, Claudius Stephen Hunter, Esqrs.
1809,	Matthew Wood, John Atkins, Esqrs.
1810,	Sir Will. Plomer, Knt., Sam. Goodbehere, Esq.
1811,	Samuel Birch, Wm. Heygate,
1812,	John Blades, M. Hoy, Esqrs.
1813,	Christopher Magnay, Thomas Coxhead Marsh, Esqrs,
1814,	Joseph Leigh, John Reay, Esqrs.
1815,	Sir Thos. Bell, Knt., John Thos. Thorpe, Esq.
1816,	George Bridges, Robert Kirby, Esqrs.
1817,	Sir Francis Desanges, Sir Geo. Alderson, Knts.
1818,	Thomas Roberts, Lawrence Gwynne, L.L.D. Esqrs.
1819,	Richard Rothwell, Joseph Wilfred Parkins, Esqrs.
1820,	Robert Waithman, James Williams, Esqrs.
1821,	John Garratt, Wm. Venables, Esqrs.
1822,	Matthias Prime Lucas, Will. Thompson, Esqrs.
1823,	Sir Peter Laurie, Knt. George Byrom Whittaker, Esq.
1824,	Anth. Brown, John Key, Esqrs.
1825,	John Crowder, Thomas Kelly, Esqrs.
1826,	Chas. Farebrother, Henry Winchester, Esqrs.
1827,	Andrew Spottiswoode, Chas. Stable, Esqrs.
1828,	Felix Booth, Esq., W T. Copeland, Esq.
1829,	W. H. Richardson, Thomas Ward, Esqrs.
1830,	Chapman Marshall, W. H. Poland, Esqrs.
1831,	John Cowan, John Pirie, Esqrs.

Years.	Sheriffs.
1832,	John Humphry, M.P., Rich. Peek, Esqrs.
1833,	Samuel Wilson, Aldn., James Harmer, Aldn., Esqrs.
1834,	Alexander Raphel, John Illidge, Esqrs.
1835,	John Lainson, Aldn., David Salomons, Esqrs.
1836,	Jas. Duke, J. Johnson, Esqrs.
1837,	Sir George Carroll, Sir Moses Montefiore, Knts.
1838,	Thos. Johnson, Aldn., Thos. Wood, Aldn., Esqrs.
1839,	Will. Evans, John Wheelton, Esqrs.
1840,	Michael Gibbs, Aldn., Thos. Farncomb, Esqrs.
1841,	William Magnay, Aldn., A. Rogers, Esqrs.
1842,	J. K. Hooper, Jeremiah Pilcher, Esqrs.
1843,	John Musgrove, Aldn., F. G. Moon, Esqrs,
1844,	William Hunter, Thos. Sidney, Esqrs.

THE

QUEEN'S VISIT TO THE CITY,

NOVEMBER 9, 1837.

MAYORALTY OF SIR JOHN COWAN.

Our records of the Illustrious Lords Mayors of London must conclude with Alderman Waithman ; we have chronicled the good deeds of those who, having passed through civic honors, have also passed away from sublunary cares and are gathered to the sepulchres of their fathers.

The deeds of those who succeed them we leave to some future historians, not, however, without full confidence that the virtues that have characterized the past will not degenerate in the future ; but that honor, integrity, liberality, and an uncompromising maintenance of the liberties of our noble city will still continue to distinguish the Lord Mayors of London.

We cannot close our volume without detailing an event of our own times, shewing that the magnificence and splendour of the Ancient City, so often recorded in the pages of its history is not without parallel in modern times. We refer to the visit of Her Most Gracious Majesty, Queen Victoria, on the 9th November, 1837.

It having been customary, for many ages, to invite the Sovereign, at the commencement of a new reign, to a civic banquet at Guildhall, her majesty, Queen Victoria, was invited to honour the city of London with her presence on Lord

Mayor's day, the 9th of November, 1837. The invitation being graciously accepted, the corporation made every effort to receive their sovereign with the magnificence befitting the great city which gave the entertainment, and the queen who deigned to partake of it. The inhabitants of the metropolis, generally, vied with the corporation in their endeavours to give a splendid and hearty welcome to her majesty, in this her first public progress through the capital of the empire. The queen proceeded in state from Buckingham Palace to the Guildhall; and along the whole line of procession the inhabitants of the houses ornamented their windows with flags and evergreens; and hundreds of thousands of spectators lined the streets, and filled all the balconies, windows, and even housetops, that commanded a view of the cavalcade. The following is the order of the royal procession, which left Buckingham Palace at two o'clock, and reached the Guildhall about twenty minutes after three :—

Detachment of Life Guards.

THE DUCHESS OF KENT AND ATTENDANTS,
Baroness Lehzen, Lady Flora Hastings, &c.,
In her Royal Highness's carriage, drawn by six horses,
With her proper escort of Life Guards.

THE DUCHESS OF GLOUCESTER AND ATTENDANTS,
Lady Georgiana Bathurst, Sir Samuel Higgins, &c.,
In her Royal Highness's two carriages, each drawn by six horses,
With her proper escort of Life Guards.

THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF CAMBRIDGE AND ATTENDANTS.
Colonel Keate, Baroness D'Ahlefeldt, &c.,
In their Royal Highnesss' two carriages, each drawn by six horses, with their proper escort of Life Guards.

THE DUKE OF SUSSEX AND ATTENDANTS,
In his Royal Highness's carriage, drawn by six horses,
With his proper escort of Life Guards.

HER MAJESTY'S CARRIAGES.

Each drawn by Six Horses.

Two Grooms walking. } THE FIRST CARRIAGE, Drawn by Six Greys, conveying { Two Grooms walking.
Gentleman Usher of the Sword of State, Hon. Frederick Byng,
Gentleman Usher of the Privy Chamber, Thos. Martins, Esq.,
Exon of the Yeomen of the Guard, S. Hancock, Esq.

Two Grooms walking. } THE SECOND CARRIAGE, Drawn by Six Bays, conveying { Two Grooms walking.

Equerry in Waiting.
Page of Honour in Waiting.
Groom in Waiting, Sir Henry Seton.
Silver Stick, Col. Greenwood.

Two Grooms walking. } THE THIRD CARRIAGE, Drawn by Six Bays, conveying { Two Grooms walking.

Treasurer of the Household, the Earl of Surrey.
Clerk Marshal, Colonel Cavendish.
Vice-Chamberlain, Lord Charles Fitzroy.
Comptroller of the Household, Hon. George Steven Byng.

Two Grooms walking. } THE FOURTH CARRIAGE, Drawn by Six Bays, conveying { Two Grooms walking.

Lord in Waiting, Lord Lilford.
Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard, the Earl of Ilchester.
Captain of the Gentlemen at Arms, Lord Foley.
Master of the Buck Hounds, the Earl of Errol.

Two Grooms walking. } THE FIFTH CARRIAGE, Drawn by Six Bays, conveying { Two Grooms walking.

Maid of Honour, Miss Cocks.
Bedchamber Woman, Hon. Mrs. George Campbell.
Earl Marshal, the Duke of Norfolk.
Gold Stick, Lord Cambermere.

Two Grooms walking. } THE SIXTH CARRIAGE, Drawn by Six Bays, conveying { Two Grooms walking.

Lady of the Bedchamber, the Countess of Mulgrave.
Maid of Honour in Waiting, Miss Cavendish.
Lord Steward, the Duke of Argyll.
Lord Chamberlain, the Marquess of Conyngham.

Yeomen of the Guard.

Twelve Footmen, four and four.

Four Grooms walking. } THE STATE COACH, Drawn by Eight Cream-coloured Horses, { Four Grooms walking.

Attended by a Yeoman of the Guard at each Wheel, and two Footmen at each Door, conveying

THE QUEEN.

The Mistress of the Robes, the Duchess of Sutherland.
The Master of the Horse, the Earl of Albemarle

An Escort of Life Guards.

The procession stopped at Temple Bar, where the Lord Mayor, Mr. Alderman Cowan, presented the Queen with the sword of state, which Her Majesty, in accordance with the ancient etiquette, begged of his lordship to retain, as it could not be in better hands. The civic procession then formed, and followed the royal cortege, immediately before the state carriage, in the following order, to the Guildhall :

THE CITY MARSHALS, on horseback.

MEMBERS OF THE COURT OF COMMON COUNCIL,

In their mazarine gowns, on horseback, each with an attendant.

James Anderton, Esq.	Richard Dixon, Esq.
Joshua Thos. Bedford, Esq.	William Collingwood, Esq.
William Hunter, Esq.	W. A. Peacock, Esq. (Dep).

SHERIFFS,

In their scarlet gowns and chains, on horseback, each attended by a sergeant and a groom.

Moses Montefiore, Esq.	George Carroll, Esq.

ALDERMEN,

In their scarlet gowns, those passed the chair in their chains, on horseback, each attended by a beadle and a groom.

John Humphery, Esq., M.P.	James Harmer, Esq.
Thomas Wood, Esq.	Henry Winchester, Esq.
W. T. Copeland, Esq., M.P.	Sir Peter Laurie.
Charles Farebrother, Esq.	W. Thompson, Esq., M.P.
Sir John Key, Bart.	William Venables, Esq.
Matthias Prime Lucas, Esq.	Matthew Wood, Esq., M.P.
Sir William Heygate, Bart.	Sir Claudius Stephen Hunter, Bart.
James White, Esq.	

Three Footmen in State Liveries.

Alderman Kelly, late Lord Mayor.

Three Footmen in State Liveries.

The Common Crier, on horseback.

The Swordbearer, on horseback.

Samuel Beddome, Esq., carrying the City Mace.

Charles William Hick, Esq., with the Cap of Maintenance.

Three Footmen in State Liveries.

The Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor, Alderman Cowan,

Three Footmen in State Liveries.

In crimson velvet robe and collar of SS, on horseback, bearing the City Sword of State immediately before.

Her Majesty was greeted by the assembled multitudes with the most enthusiastic applause. We have read in the annals of "the great city," how its rulers have, from time to time, aimed to excel each other in giving a reception to royalty that should

surpass all that had gone before ; but it is difficult to conceive an enthusiasm more intense than that which seemed to actuate the "rulers of the feast" on this interesting occasion. The Guildhall presented a magnificent scene. The splendour of the plate, made more manifest by the brilliancy of the illuminated room, seemed to outvie Eastern magnificence, or even the fabled grandeur depicted in the "Arabian Nights."

Seven hundred persons sat down to dinner. After the banquet, the Lord Mayor, Alderman Cowan, was raised to the dignity of a baronet, and the sheriffs, Moses Montefiore, Esq. and George Carroll, Esq., were knighted.

The youthful Queen of England, so lately raised to the throne of her ancestors, had in that assembly a foundation for confidence in the loyalty and patriotism of her people, not often the lot of crowned heads to realise.

Her Majesty once more visited the City, in October, 1844, for the purpose of opening the New Royal Exchange ;* when the citizens again displayed their loyalty and devotedness to Her Majesty.

May Victoria the First ever experience the loyalty and patriotism of her people, by maintaining those civil and religious liberties which, in one century and a half, have raised England to a position never yet excelled, if ever attained, by any nation upon earth ; a country "whose merchants are princes, and whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth."

* Three views of this splendid specimen of architectural workmanship, and useful and ornamental building, are placed, with other plates, at the commencement of this work.

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